

‘Indigenising the Corporation’

Indigenous Organisation Design: An Analysis of Their Design, Features, and the Influence of
Indigenous Cultural Values

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Abstract

Indigenous organisations are key sites of collective identity, voice, and empowerment yet we know virtually nothing about their nature or what makes them different. This thesis seeks to address this gap by answering the overarching question: ‘What are the features of current indigenous organisation design and how are organisational elements and definitions of success influenced by culture?’ The distinct contribution of this thesis is its unique blend, using indigenous theory and organisation theory, to generate new and original indigenous organisation theory.

This thesis uses a multiple case study design focused on three contemporary indigenous organisations, Kamehameha Schools of Hawai’i, the Sealaska Regional Corporation of Alaska and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu of New Zealand to investigate the phenomenon of contemporary indigenous organisations. A total of 90 interviews were analysed for this inductive qualitative study that uses grounded theory methods.

Conflict is an inherent dynamic in indigenous organisations. This thesis suggests the adoption of Western structural models has benefitted indigenous economic development, but these structures are a source of tension as they are not aligned with indigenous purposes and contribute to fears of cultural assimilation. Structure is both a source of tension and the scapegoat for broader tensions stemming from the conflicting purposes, mindsets, and cultural contexts to which the organisation must relate. Indigenous organisations are complex and conflicted as they seek to balance opposing demands, striving to keep pace with a fast-changing environment, whilst simultaneously trying to be more consistent with their own cultural values.

Despite these challenges, change is occurring. This thesis suggests indigenous organisations are evolving to better align with indigenous cultural values and aspirations. Tensions also signal progress as taken for granted assumptions are identified, challenged, and replaced. This thesis shows that organisations and their design are not culturally neutral. Furthermore, indigenous organisations are progressing towards the possibility of indigenous models of organisation that offers a way out of the constraints of their present realities.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis seeks to address a significant gap in management and indigenous development literature concerning the design of contemporary indigenous organisations. Current management literature has not focused on indigenous entities, whilst current indigenous development literature excludes analysis of organisation design. The aim of this research is to identify the features of current indigenous organisation design and build an understanding of how their organisational elements and definitions of success are influenced by indigenous cultural values. This thesis seeks to answer the overarching question: ‘What are the features of current indigenous organisation design and how are organisational elements and definitions of success influenced by culture?’

As a Māori researcher, this thesis is inspired by the works of Kaupapa Māori theorists (Bishop, 2008; Smith, 1999) and their contributions penetrate this thesis. The distinct contribution of this thesis is the privileging of Kaupapa Māori Theory as a lens for viewing and interpreting data and literature. An additional indigenous theoretical lens has been incorporated to broaden the theoretical foundations, namely Tribal Critical Theory (Brayboy, 2006), but it is the privileging of indigenous theory over organisation theory that makes this thesis unique. Using indigenous theory as a lens to analyse indigenous organisations and situating the findings in Western Organisation Theory, this thesis aims to contribute to the growth of new knowledge in the form of indigenous organisation theory.

Organisational culture refers to the shared assumptions that guide and define behaviour and the way people interact within the boundaries of an organisation (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). For the purpose of this thesis, the term culture refers to the more complex knowledge and belief systems of indigenous peoples with discussion focusing on how their cultural values, morals, and laws are given life within the context of the organisation. Thereby, a second distinct contribution of this thesis is the examination of how indigenous organisations relate to their own indigenous cultural context, or not.

The research comprises a multiple case study of three contemporary indigenous organisations, Kamehameha Schools of Hawai‘i, the Sealaska Regional Corporation of

Alaska, and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu of New Zealand. This research intends to investigate the contemporary phenomenon of indigenous organisations, and build an understanding of their design, features, definitions of success, and how all of these are influenced by cultural values. This research outlines a contemporary issue concerning indigenous development. When corporate structures are adopted to advance indigenous aspirations, they do so in a unique indigenous context, bound by cultural expectations and values that should fundamentally dictate the way these institutions operate. Indigenous organisations inhabit different realities and therefore, have different priorities from Western organisations.

Many indigenous tribes or groups in New Zealand and The United States have inherited or adopted Western organisational forms to advance collective aspirations. The design of these indigenous organisations, especially how their structure, processes, people, and culture are designed and employed to achieve strategy, is critical to indigenous success. Despite the importance of organisation design to contemporary indigenous entities, there has been no analysis of the characteristics of current indigenous organisations to determine if there are uniquely indigenous features or if they merely mimic Western corporate structures. New knowledge generated in this area would assist indigenous groups in designing their organisations to best achieve success as defined by their community and cultural values.

As a Māori researcher, as a descendant of the Māori tribe Ngāi Tahu, and as an employee of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, this thesis is grounded in the experiences and struggles of iwi Māori.² The next section of this chapter will examine the background to the New Zealand context followed by a brief overview of the thesis.

Background to the issue

The establishment of contemporary indigenous organisations in New Zealand

On 6 February 1840 New Zealand's founding document, The Treaty of Waitangi, was signed in the Bay of Islands creating a political compact between the British Crown and some 540 Māori chiefs. Written in both Māori and English, differing interpretations of the three articles in the Treaty; their underlying principles, intent, and modern application, has long been the

² Māori tribal groups.

subject of on-going debate. Previously ignored by New Zealand courts and parliament, vocal Māori protests over breaches of the Treaty in the 1960s-1970s led to the Treaty of Waitangi Act of 1975. This established the Waitangi Tribunal as a permanent commission of inquiry to investigate alleged Treaty breaches by the Crown.

The pursuit of historical Treaty of Waitangi grievances resulted in the reshaping of iwi into a new socially and politically cohesive form. Upon the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal, the momentum created by Māori protest in the 1960s-1970s over Treaty breaches was channelled into progressing tribal claims through the Treaty settlement process. The desire to resolve grievances, matched with conditions determining the organisation of claimant groups, created the impetus for the evolution and propagation of a new model of tribal structuring, the iwi corporate. This process has had a significant impact on the direction of Māori development, a partnership now framed as an iwi-Crown relationship. This was also the prime influence on the design and functioning of contemporary indigenous organisations in New Zealand.

In an unlikely series of events, Māori aspirations for self-determination and right-wing aspirations for economic restructuring gained momentum simultaneously and found common ground in the devolution of the state and a desire for corporatisation (Hill, 2009, p. 219). In 1984, the Labour government began a programme of economic restructuring known as ‘Rogernomics’³ focused on minimalizing the state and corporatizing the public service. The New Zealand economy was in crisis in the 1980s prompting the government to proceed with a programme of asset sales facilitated by the State-Owned Enterprises Act of 1986. The major obstacle to state asset sales was unresolved Māori claims to lands, assets, and fisheries. Māori claims gained further leverage after the 1985 decision to extend the Waitangi Tribunal’s jurisdiction to 1840 enabling iwi to lodge claims focused on historic grievances. Despite a convergence of push factors, ultimately Treaty settlements were driven by opposing objectives (Belgrave, 2012). For Māori, the Treaty settlement negotiation process with the Crown eroded any hopes of a ‘fair and just’ settlement. Rather, settlement offers are couched as the best offer available at that time and an opportunity to re-establish the collective economic, political and cultural base (Cowie, 2012, p. 54). The disparity between Māori pursuit of justice and the Crown’s goal to repair relationships with iwi and stimulate their

³ Rogernomics is named after the Labour Government’s Minister of Finance (1984-87), Roger Douglas, who restructured and deregulated the New Zealand economy following the neo-liberal economic policies of the Reagan era (Tau, 2012).

economic development demonstrate the opposing agenda of both parties (Bargh, 2012). The unlikely alliance between economic rationalism and Māori nationalism pushed the issue of resolving historic Treaty grievances to the fore, albeit for opposing reasons.

The formula for iwi to settle historic grievances with the Crown was largely established by three substantial early settlements: The Māori Fisheries Settlement of 1992, the Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Settlement of 1995, and the Ngāi Tahu Settlement of 1998. The initial Waikato-Tainui and Ngāi Tahu settlements repositioned iwi at the heart of the Māori-Crown partnership with their adoption of corporate models being upheld as the exemplar for subsequent claimant groups to follow (Stone, 2012). The impetus for iwi to adopt corporate structures has been attributed by many commentators to the Māori Fisheries Settlement of 1992 (Te Puni Kokiri, 2011). This saw the Crown enter into the first national settlement to affect all Māori with a lengthy legal battle challenging the allocation process until a finalised Māori Fisheries Act 2004 (Te Puni Kokiri, 2011). The claimant ratification process was driven by criteria stipulated by the Crown before settlement assets could be transferred to iwi. Political drivers, such as the need for recognition as a mandated iwi organisation, combined with the motivation of attaining a substantial sum of settlement assets resulted in iwi adoption of Western commercial asset-holding structures. The Māori Fisheries Settlement has been acknowledged (and in some cases criticised) for creating a national proliferation of iwi corporate models as ‘a pragmatic response to getting a deal done around fisheries assets in a landscape of negotiations...’ (Te Puni Kokiri, 2011, p. 9).

Traditional forms of iwi organisation proved insufficient to progress iwi claims through the tribunal process. Claimant negotiators needed a secure mandate from iwi members before negotiations could begin, and adopt a recognised legal entity before any Deed of Settlement could be ratified. The opportunity to settle historical grievances was contingent on the claimant group conforming to prescribed organisational criteria including accountability processes and asset management structures, which were then institutionalised and enshrined in law to create the iwi corporate (Te Puni Kokiri, 2011). Similarly, the early settlements were influenced by a climate of economic restructuring. Ngāi Tahu’s lead negotiators were advised by Rogernomics exponents C.S. First Boston (Highman, 1997), and the wider economic climate had shifted to corporatism necessitating iwi to do the same. The Waitangi Tribunal, albeit unintentionally, became the vehicle for institutionalising a post-settlement iwi

corporate entity. The corporate identity of iwi was confirmed through legal recognition and then legitimised through entrustment with collective settlement assets, repositioning iwi as the prime vehicle for future Māori development. For iwi, Treaty claims were about the pursuit of rangatiratanga.⁴ However, many felt the legal and structural constraints that were imposed compromised the cultural integrity of the very institutions charged with maintaining cultural identity and advancing iwi autonomy (Hill, 2009, p. 260).

The Treaty of Waitangi settlement process reshaped the Māori political landscape with iwi becoming the principal agent in the Māori-Crown partnership. Over the past 30 years, Māori aspirations for tino rangatiratanga⁵ have largely been channelled into resolving historical grievances with the Crown through the Waitangi Tribunal. Iwi have focused on accumulating significant settlement assets to progress towards a measure of self-determination. The Treaty settlement process cemented iwi as the Treaty partner, rather than national pan-tribal Māori organisations, reshaping the future direction of Māori political activity and the future pursuit of self-determination (Rata, 1999). An unintended consequence of the settlement process has been the ratification of a new form of iwi organisation to manage post-settlement assets. The adoption of Western models of organisation suited political motives for the expedient transfer of assets, but did so at the expense of a more considered approach whereby cultural values could have been better translated into organisation design principles. Although the iwi corporate model has been successful in re-establishing iwi as an economic and political power, there are widespread concerns that such models could contribute to the cultural assimilation of Māori.

The rise of iwi corporates...and iwi politics

History has demonstrated that Treaty settlement processes are highly political within the claimant group with neighbouring iwi and as part of the broader national dialogue on race relations (Joseph, 2012). This oft-contentious process created an external political climate that was to have significant influence on the design of accountability structures. These

⁴ Autonomy or self-determination.

⁵ A Māori language term often translated as absolute sovereignty or self-determination.

structures, while likely to appease critics, may have been detrimental to the pursuit of newer forms of organisation based upon cultural concerns.

The nature of iwi corporations and the political challenges claimant groups face leading up to, and after settlement, are partly due to the makeup of their constituency. The prime focus of a claimant group is maintaining its mandate (against both internal and external challenges), to ensure its representatives are authorised to negotiate with the Crown, ratify the Deed of Settlement, and then adequately manage the assets. Iwi membership and accompanying inalienable rights are determined by one's whakapapa,⁶ which is the core cultural principle ordering the Māori world-view. As an example, the right to participate in cultural affairs, to participate in collective decision making processes, and to derive benefit from iwi distributions or services, is based upon one's genealogy (Barrett & Mc Nicholas, 2007, p. 18). The Māori view of property rights is quite different from Western views of individual ownership of property. Notions of collective ownership and inalienable rights also create inherent political tensions that cannot be discounted or easily negotiated as discussed by the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research:

Iwi are collectives with involuntary membership, containing individuals with diverging views but who generally do not possess alienable rights over the collective resources, and who hence cannot opt out of the collective by selling their interests. Consequently decisions involving incompatible preferences must be resolved by political deliberation, to exert influence over administrative processes (NZIER, 2003, p. 91).

A non-voluntary membership reflecting a diverse spectrum of political opinion creates political pressures for any organisation. That members cannot opt-out and take their share of collective assets only serves to exacerbate this problem. The political forces stemming from the makeup of iwi membership caused a weighty focus on iwi governance structures to manage these tensions, demonstrating how the unique nature of iwi membership has been a powerful contingency in the design of iwi corporates.

The representative and governance arrangements are also prescribed in the Treaty settlement process creating further complexities for claimant groups. To receive settlement funds,

⁶ Genealogy.

groups must choose an appropriate governance entity to serve their needs. The design principles are set by the Office of Treaty Settlements, who then assesses the proposed governance entity. As Joseph notes, of the 20 questions the Office of Treaty Settlements must ask and claimants must satisfy, 19 refer to Western standards of governance, yet only one addresses whether the Māori entity was developed in accordance with Māori values (2012, pp. 154-155). Such prescriptive preconditions privilege Western cultural norms of organisation, and create significant pressure on claimant groups to conform. This results in claimant groups designing to survive the settlement process rather than designing for indigenous needs in a culturally grounded manner.

The initial post-settlement iwi corporates—Tainui and Ngāi Tahu—although widely celebrated in wider New Zealand, have frequently become the target for their own indigenous communities, sceptical of the compatibility of a Western corporate model with Māori cultural values. There has been little divergence from the initial corporate models first adopted by both iwi and both are upheld as exemplars for subsequent post-settlement iwi to follow:

Successful iwi – and Ngāi Tahu is the most well-known – have embraced a true corporate form with a clear division of responsibilities and good governance rules. These notions are not part of tikanga Maori per se, but are compatible with it. In this sense, successful contemporary iwi are not inherently part of ‘Maori institutions’ but rather present a mix of adopted institutional forms that enable them to overcome the drawbacks of the traditional iwi structure while keeping tikanga Maori as a point of reference (Saulet, 2008, p. 28).

What is absent is a clear definition of ‘success.’ Ngāi Tahu are commercially successful by embracing a ‘true’ Western corporate model, but given other measures and definitions of success, such as cultural values, they may not be considered so successful. The clear separation of tribal governance from business affairs may add further dissonance between Māori definitions of ‘success’ and how the structure actually behaves. The tensions between cultural and commercial priorities are evident in iwi political upheavals, high management turnover, and several corporate re-structures, suggesting the design of contemporary iwi corporates has yet to fully achieve success as seen through the eyes of iwi members.⁷

⁷ For examples, see Houlihan, 2009; Stokes, 2006; Tahana, 2009.

Contemporary iwi organisation: Cultural or corporate?

Post-settlement iwi have largely inherited a Western corporate model. Adopting this model and associated commercial priorities that are perhaps contrasting to Māori cultural priorities has caused tension in the development and evolution of these organisations. Joseph (2012), asserts the Crown pressured Māori groups to codify into ‘large natural groupings’ in the form of iwi that ‘fits its own notions of political organisation, representation and governance’ to meet a government-driven agenda (p.161). Similarly, Mikaere (1997), asserts the Treaty settlement process and its focus on corporatising iwi is underpinned by an assimilationist agenda as claimant groups are incentivised if not forced to adopt Western norms of organisation. Corporatisation results in post-settlement entities adopting Western cultural norms grounded in Western law not Māori values (New Zealand Law Commission, 2002) . The need for greater thought into how to adequately devise structures to meet the needs of iwi has been identified as a priority by the New Zealand Law Commission as there is no present model able to meet the particular needs of settlement groups and support their role as stewards of settlement assets (New Zealand Law Commission, 2002).

A key point of difference for iwi corporations is the nature of their membership and the cultural values of this collective. A critical challenge facing these institutions is how such cultural paradigms influence the organisation. It is pivotal that Maori cultural values underpin these organisations as it is these social and cultural constructs ‘that give contemporary iwi their identity as uniquely Māori organisations, and hence, their cultural legitimacy’ (Saulet, 2008, p. 23). A key question that arises is how cultural values, such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and tino rangatiratanga, can inform contemporary iwi organisations. The tensions between perceived contrasting cultural and commercial paradigms have raised concerns from some Māori who believe corporate structures overemphasize economic priorities at the expense of cultural imperatives. NZIER noted:

While Māori openly acknowledge the important role economic growth plays in development, some question whether economic growth means trading off other elements. There is a sense that economic development using Pākehā institutions creates a risk of people losing their ‘Māoriness’, when it is this Māoriness that is at the core of development. In some cases, genuine trade-offs may exist. However, in

most instances, an apparent trade-off between Māoriness and economic success is in reality a failure of the existing institution to reconcile the two better (2003, p. 55). Despite the importance of economic development to Māori communities, there is real concern that iwi groups could, as a result of their corporatisation, lose the very essence of their indigenous cultural identity. Mason Durie (1998), observes that:

Different concerns about modern tribal structures have...been raised in connection with the emphasis on business models, which appear to corporatise iwi. Tribal members are aware of the corporations in Alaska which have all but ousted traditional structures and are keen to avoid creating economically orientated organisations which fail to capture the essential cultural basis of the tribe (pp. 226-7)

The corporatisation of these legal identities also creates concerns around the potential to corporatise Māori identity. There are strong fears the pursuit of an economic agenda could overshadow similarly important social and cultural agenda and have severe consequences for Māori cultural identity.

The New Zealand Law Commission was so concerned about the unsuitability of the current legal framework to represent and manage the interests of iwi that following an advisory report (New Zealand Law Commission, 2002) it decided to propose new legislation. The report found that:

...there is at present, no uniform settlement model, able to be adapted to meet the particular needs of each individual settlement group and its members, which defines satisfactorily the core functions of those responsible for stewardship of settlement assets...There is, the Commission considers, a need for a model settlement entity, that answers both deficiencies and that marries existing legal principles with Māori values (New Zealand Law Commission, 2002, pp. 1-2).

In 2004, the commission initiated a follow-up project, working alongside other government entities, to create a new legal mechanism for the governance of Māori entities. The Commission believed Māori were entering a post-settlement phase where they were rebuilding and modernising Māori institutions. Iwi aspired to champion the revitalisation of cultural identity, manage and grow collective assets, and distribute benefits to iwi members. These entities had social, cultural, political and commercial priorities, yet the Commission was concerned available legal structures are inadequate for managing the complexity of

multiple agendas (New Zealand Law Commission, 2006). Existing legal structures are designed to suit a specific commercial or social context, but are inadequate to manage the mix of purposes or the need for transparency and democratic representation. The Commission proposed statutory provision for a Māori corporation, which they called Waka Umanga⁸, designed to safeguard Māori collective assets and interests for future generations and in accordance with a Māori cultural context. The Waka Umanga (Māori Corporations) Bill 2007 has been through two readings in the House of Representatives and a Māori Affairs Select Committee Report, but has gone no further. In the Bill's first reading in parliament, then Minister of Māori Affairs Parekura Horomia spoke of the unique characteristics and needs of Māori collectives:

It becomes imperative for these collectives to establish a structure that can incorporate commercial and non-commercial activities so that the different objectives of those activities can be managed appropriately (Horomia, 2007).

The New Zealand Law Commission report (2006), however, further demonstrated how existing legal structures are inadequate to manage the complex and multi-faceted needs of iwi for future generations. Joseph (2007), notes government imposed structures must be viewed within a historical context of paternalistic and assimilationist policies. Instead, Māori should be driving the design and on-going evolution of the entities charged with supporting Māori collective activity rather than being boxed in by government policy and agenda (Joseph, 2007).

Although the legitimacy of an iwi corporate stems from its status as an intrinsically cultural institution, controversy surrounds the apparent pursuit of economic development to the perceived detriment of cultural priorities. Iwi inherited a Western organisation structure, partly as a prescription for settlement, and partly because there was no viable alternative. The tensions within Māoridom concerning the potential loss of cultural identity as a result of corporatisation highlights the need for further analysis of contemporary indigenous organisations and how they are influenced by indigenous culture.

⁸ This Māori language term has been translated as Māori corporation.

Thesis overview

This thesis seeks to address a significant gap in organisation and indigenous development literature concerning the design of contemporary indigenous organisations. The research aims to answer the overarching question: ‘What are the features of current indigenous organisation design, and how are organisational elements and definitions of success influenced by culture?’ This will be achieved through a multiple case study of three contemporary indigenous organisations, Kamehameha Schools of Hawai‘i, the Sealaska Regional Corporation of Alaska and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu of New Zealand. The research is an inductive qualitative study using grounded theory methods. The distinct contribution of this thesis is its unique blend, bringing together indigenous theory and organisation theory, to generate new and original indigenous organisation theory.

Chapter two provides an overview of the literature. The chapter outlines two key indigenous theoretical perspectives, Kaupapa Māori theory and tribal critical theory, which are used as a theoretical lens to inform how data is collected, viewed, and interpreted. Two specific bodies of organisation theory, structural contingency theory, and institutional theory, are examined to situate the findings in the field and literature of organisation theory. The gap in literature stems from the perception of organisations as culturally neutral institutions. This chapter will establish the rationale for adopting a richer and more culturally nuanced approach to the study of indigenous organisations.

Chapter three provides a rationale for adopting a multiple case study design and an inductive qualitative approach to address the gap in the literature. The rationale for choosing a case study method explores its fit with the aims of this thesis and indigenous theory. This outlines the process for the initial descriptive phase where the research will articulate what the cases currently are to situate findings within each of the research’s settings. Then a rationale for choosing grounded theory methods demonstrates its suitability for developing new and original indigenous organisation theory and its fit with indigenous theories that privilege participant voice. This chapter concludes with an outline on the data collection, coding, and analysis procedures.

Chapter four presents the first of three case studies. This case is focused on the Sealaska Regional Corporation of Alaska. This chapter begins with a description of the case that situates Sealaska within the historical and cultural context of its setting. This situates the case

within a broader setting of colonisation, indigenous relationships with the state, and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. This description is informed by literature, organisational documents, and interviews with 30 secondary informants. This is followed by the key findings and theoretical concepts that emerge from the inductive qualitative analysis of the transcripts of 15 primary informants using grounded theory methods.

Chapter five presents the second of three case studies. This case is focused on Kamehameha Schools of Hawai‘i. This chapter begins with a description of the case that situates Kamehameha Schools within the cultural context of the Hawaiian worldview and the historical context of the Hawaiian monarchy and colonisation. This description is informed by literature, organisational documents, and interviews with 13 secondary informants. This is followed by the key findings and theoretical concepts that emerge from the inductive qualitative analysis of the transcripts of 15 primary informants using grounded theory methods.

Chapter six presents the third of three case studies. This case is focused on the Māori tribal organisation Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu of New Zealand. This chapter starts by setting the cultural and historical context of the organisation and the research’s primary setting. The case description outlines Ngāi Tahu’s worldview, tribal history, and its 7-generation battle to settle its grievances with the Crown. This situates the Ngāi Tahu case within a broader setting of Māori-Crown relationships, Treaty of Waitangi settlements, and contemporary challenges facing Māori tribal organisations. This description is informed by literature, organisational documents, and the researchers own understandings as a descendent of this tribe. This is followed by the key findings and theoretical concepts that emerge from the inductive qualitative analysis of the transcripts of 17 primary informants using grounded theory methods.

Chapter seven presents a discussion on the key findings emerging from the three cases. First, the analysis of the similarities and differences across the two international cases, Sealaska and Kamehameha Schools, which are analysed first as a block. Then the analysis focuses on the similarities and differences between both international cases (as a block) and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. This chapter concludes with a summary of the key conceptual themes emerging from across all three cases.

Chapter eight focuses on a discussion around an emerging theory of indigenous organisations. The chapter begins with discussion on the key overarching themes that have emerged from the analysis of the data, and how they contribute new knowledge to the field. These key themes are then conceptualised within the broader literature of organisation theory. Analysis will situate the findings within the prevailing literature of organisation theory, and then point to aspects that cannot be addressed by current theory.

Chapter nine outlines the limitations of the research, and contextualises the findings as reflecting a point in time. Discussion on the implications for further research highlights the unique nature of indigenous organisations and the need for further research to build knowledge about how they can be designed to fit indigenous purposes. Closing statements reiterate the importance of indigenous organisations to indigenous success and empowerment.

Chapter 2: Overview of the literature

This thesis is an inductive qualitative research study using a grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967); hence this chapter provides an overview of the literature rather than a review. The first section of this chapter outlines indigenous theoretical perspectives, Kaupapa Māori theory and tribal critical theory, to inform how the data collected is viewed and interpreted. The second section of this chapter outlines two bodies of organisation design literature, structural contingency theory, and institutional theory, to situate the research in the field of organisation theory.

Theoretical perspectives

This research is unique as it brings together indigenous theory and organisation theory to aid analysis of contemporary indigenous organisations and their design, features, values, contexts and definitions of success. Whilst the research is situated within the literature of organisation theory, using Western organisation theory as a theoretical lens to analyse indigenous organisations could be considered in itself a colonising act by some. Contemporary indigenous organisations exist within indigenous contexts; therefore, it is important to resist imposing a Western frame on analysis. For the purposes of this study, an indigenous theoretical lens is required to analyse indigenous data; to free analysis of indigenous organisations from Western conceptions of organisation design. This will generate new theory about indigenous organisations that can be connected back to the broader field of organisation theory. For these reasons, Kaupapa Māori theory is privileged over other bodies of theory with its core tenets permeating this research. Bringing an indigenous theoretical perspective to the field of organisation theory is what makes this study unique.

Both Kaupapa Māori and tribal critical theory stem from critical race theory and ultimately a broader body of thought called post-structuralism. A post-structural perspective has historically been used to understand issues of class/socio-economic status, make visible hidden assumptions which prevent progress and offers strategies for rethinking institutional

policies and practices (Kezar, 2011). This theoretical perspective has proven popular with critical race theorists in addressing how institutions can privilege some whilst hindering others. For the purposes of this study, Kaupapa Māori and tribal critical theory will be utilised as theoretical perspectives to privilege indigenous voice and reveal the hidden constraints and colonising practices that exist in the environmental contexts of current indigenous organisations.

Kaupapa Māori

A foremost indigenous/Māori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) asserts there is a deep distrust of research in Māori communities with the term being intrinsically tied to Western imperialism and colonialism. Māori suspicions stem from a history whereby research and researchers held an innate sense of superiority that privileged Western ideas as ‘the only possible ideas to hold, certainly the only rational ideas, and the only ideas which can make sense of the world, of reality, of social life, and of human beings’ (Smith, 1999, p. 56). Smith contends the word research itself ‘is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary, implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism’ (1999, p. 1). Smith defines the imperializing and colonizing approaches of the academy as research ‘through imperial eyes’, describing how research has been a tool to ‘steal’ indigenous knowledge to benefit of those who ‘stole’ it (1999, p. 56). These sentiments are echoed by educationalist Russell Bishop(2008): “Researchers in Aotearoa/New Zealand have developed a tradition of research that has perpetuated colonial power imbalances, thereby undervaluing and belittling Maori knowledge and learning practices and processes in order to enhance those of the colonizers and adherents of colonial paradigms” (p.11).

In more recent times, indigenous communities have sought to define their own independent research agenda to claim some space in determining what is researched in indigenous communities, who researches it, what assumptions or values underpin the research and who ultimately benefits from it. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, this movement has resulted in the development of a Māori-centred research approach, commonly referred to as Kaupapa Māori research.

Kaupapa Māori is a means whereby assumptions, values, orientations, and priorities that privilege indigenous communities are structured into a research strategy rather than trying to

fit Western approaches to an indigenous research agenda. Graham Smith summarises the core principles of this indigenous research approach by saying Kaupapa Māori research:

Is related to being Māori;

Is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;

Takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and

Is concerned with ‘the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being’ (as cited in Smith, 1999, p. 185).

Kaupapa Māori is also concerned with who defines the research problem, who deems it worthy of study, and who ultimately benefits from the findings. A key feature of a Kaupapa Māori approach is the assumption that the study must involve Māori, as researchers, as participants, as individuals, as collectives and ‘make a positive difference for the researched’ (Smith, 1999, p. 191). The collectivistic orientation of Kaupapa Māori methods is noted by Bishop(2008):

...Kaupapa Maori is collectivistic and is orientated toward benefitting all the research participants and their collectively determined agendas, defining and acknowledging Māori aspirations for research, while developing and implementing Māori theoretical and methodological preferences and practices for research (p.114).

The inquiry is grounded in indigenous culture, kinship, a collective vision and aspirations for autonomy while developing ‘methodologies and approaches that privileged indigenous knowledge’s, voices and experiences’ (Smith, 2005, p. 87). In this manner, critical indigenous inquiry is inextricably tied to collective aspirations for indigenous self-determination.

A further component of Kaupapa Māori is a commitment to analysis of existing power structures and power relations to expose social inequalities and the concepts and methods that underpin them (Pihama as cited in Smith, 1999, pp. 185-186). Kaupapa Māori provides a theoretical lens for critical analysis of the processes and power relations that continue the oppression of Māori as noted by Bishop (2008):

In effect, therefore, Kaupapa Maori presupposes positions that are committed to a critical analysis of the existing unequal power relations within the wider New Zealand society that

were created with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, those structures that work to oppress Maori people (p. 114).

Kaupapa Māori provides several investigative strategies that suit the research problem at hand. The background to the issue demonstrated the positioning of Māori culture within contemporary iwi corporates is a contemporary issue concerning iwi development. Contemporary critiques reflect unease within Māoridom regarding the perceived marginalisation of Māori identity at the expense of economic priorities. This highlights the organisation design of contemporary iwi organisations, and the role culture plays within these institutions is an issue of significance to indigenous communities and relevant to their pursuit of autonomy. Kaupapa Māori research provides a set of principles and tools to undertake research in a culturally appropriate way that centralises Māori knowledge and voices. This is a method that privileges positioning the indigenous researcher at the heart of the inquiry, alongside keeping the interests of the researched at the forefront of the inquiry. Kaupapa Māori also focuses on critical inquiry of the power relations that exist within society, creating an opportunity to examine the establishment and positioning of post-settlement iwi corporates within a broader frame of the colonizing and assimilationist processes that have defined Māori-Crown relationships. Such critical modes of enquiry support building an understanding of the extent iwi corporates can effect positive change for Māori and contribute to the emancipatory pursuit of self-determination. Alternatively, such examination may conversely reveal the extent they undermine cultural concerns and merely entrench the marginalisation of Māori in society. Despite the obvious synergies of the proposed research problem to a Kaupapa Māori research strategy, there are also some shortcomings.

The proposed study includes analysis of international indigenous groups and analysis of the design of their contemporary organisations. As much as Kaupapa Māori prescribes principles for culturally appropriate investigation of local indigenous groups (Māori), these principles are not generic and do not reflect the realities and world views of indigenous peoples globally. Undertaking research in ‘Māori way’ means not forcing Māori ways on non-Māori people. This could result in the voice of another indigenous people being further silenced by the imposition of a Māori-centred methodology. Similarly, whilst Kaupapa Māori is closely aligned with critical theory the focus of this study is on indigenous organisations that have either been designed by the Government and/or operate within constraints imposed by

Government. Thereby, this study seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the role colonization and assimilationist processes have played in the establishment, design, and constraints placed upon contemporary indigenous organisations and the impact these processes have on the pursuit of autonomy. Thus, Kaupapa Māori as a research strategy provides a strong base for analysis of contemporary iwi corporations, but for a broader examination of the commonality of indigenous organisations globally, a broader theoretical base is needed to ensure a culturally appropriate investigative strategy.

Tribal critical theory

The research seeks to expand upon the theoretical foundations laid by Kaupapa Māori, by incorporating tribal critical theory as a theoretical lens to examine the organisation design of contemporary indigenous organisations. Using tribal critical theory (TribalCrit), this research seeks to expose the inconsistencies and assimilatory processes utilised by Western colonial powers in the formation of contemporary indigenous organisations. The proposed research includes case studies focused on indigenous nations in the United States, and so, TribalCrit has been adopted to support examination of Native Alaskan and Native Hawaiian engagement with the United States federal government. Most important, tribal critical theory enables a broader theoretical base to support examination of indigenous experience in the United States through ‘indigenous eyes’ within their own context, as opposed to ‘imperial’ or equally ‘Māori eyes’. Incorporation of indigenous research strategies and principles from the proposed indigenous community to be engaged supports the development of a broader theoretical base to aid a deeper understanding of their indigenous realities.

TribalCrit is a theoretical framework emerging from critical race theory but diverges in that it posits that colonisation is endemic in society. The basic tenet of TribalCrit is that colonisation is endemic to society, (while also acknowledging the role played by racism) and can become so ingrained in institutions that it is often invisible (Brayboy, 2006). TribalCrit as a theoretical lens is primarily found in education addressing many of the issues facing Native Americans today and exposing how notions of Western imperialism permeate and influence government policies and institutions. For the purposes of this study TribalCrit will be utilised to examine the extent of assimilatory agendas in the corporatisation of contemporary indigenous organisations. Through the settlement of land claims and the receipt of reparations for injustices committed, indigenous groups largely either adopted or inherited a Western

corporate model. This study will examine the ramifications of adopting a Western corporate structure, identify possible debilitating influences, and seek to posit the corporatisation of indigenous development within a broader dialogue of on-going assimilationist processes. Thus, TribalCrit will be used to expose the extent financial reparations for land claims and injustices really empowered indigenous nations, or if the structural, institutional, and legislative restraints and regulations that came with settlement met the needs of the colonizer rather than those of the colonized.

TribalCrit also offers “a more culturally nuanced way of examining the lives and experiences of tribal peoples” (Brayboy, 2006, p. 430) whereby experiential knowledge and ‘story’ is valued. Due to a lack of literature concerning the design of contemporary indigenous organisations, this study will be heavily reliant on narrative accounts and testimony from indigenous elders, leaders, employees, tribal members, and architects of the organisations studied. In this manner, TribalCrit values narratives and stories as important sources of data and is aligned with the ultimate purpose of this study in addressing the needs of tribal communities to design tribal institutions to achieve success in tribal ways. The findings of this study will contribute to theory building through highlighting commonality across contemporary indigenous institutions and extend application of tribal critical theory to analysis of the colonial influences on the design and evolution of indigenous organisations.

In using both Kaupapa Māori and tribal critical theory, a broader theoretical base is established to examine contemporary indigenous phenomena within their own realities and gain a deeper understanding of how the research problem is positioned within, and influenced by, these indigenous realities. These broader tools of inquiry also enable a more ‘culturally nuanced’ approach to examination of phenomena within their own unique contexts and avoid the dangers of the research adding a further layer of assimilation to indigenous experience. Similarly, the proposed study will extend the application of both indigenous research strategies to the field of management and organisation design, something that has never been done before. An intrinsic element of an indigenous research agenda is privileging indigenous knowledge, voice, and experience within its own indigenous reality. The broader theoretical base afforded by incorporating both Kaupapa Māori and tribal critical theory creates a stronger basis for an indigenous qualitative field of inquiry to gain a greater understanding of

what makes them similar but not at the expense of what makes each case unique to its own reality.

Western organisation design

Organisation design describes the process of deliberately configuring structure, processes, metrics, reward systems, people practices, mind sets and culture to channel individual and collective energy towards the achievement of business strategy (Kates & Galbraith, 2007). The challenge is to sustain this internal organisational harmony and balance with the external environment to maintain an advantage over one's competitors (Galbraith, 1982). It is evident from the initial survey of organisational design literature (Galbraith, 1982, 1983, 2002; Hedberg, Nystrom, & Starbuck, 1976; Kates & Galbraith, 2007; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Mintzberg, 1979; Nystrom & Starbuck, 1981, 1984; Roberts, 2004; R.W. Scott, 1987, 2004; Starbuck, 1983, 2003; Westley & Mintzberg, 1989), that organisations are largely presented as being culturally neutral with attention focusing on their technical and material elements. It is important to note the literature surveyed does not include sociological strands of organisational analysis (see Selznick, 1949). Analysis of organisation design literature shows there is a complete absence of literature concerning the nature of indigenous organisations and their design. Furthermore, there is no literature for analysing indigenous organisations as inherently cultural institutions. Although the field of organisation design largely limits analysis to technical elements, there are schools of thought in the broader field of organisation theory, which can help inform a more culturally nuanced analysis of indigenous organisations.

Organisation theory

Organisation design literature comes from a broader body of thought called organisation theory, which is a discipline that seeks to understand the structure and dynamics of social entities. The field of organisation studies has a broad theoretical focus and is an umbrella for diverse and interdisciplinary schools of thought concerning organisational decision making processes, the distribution of power and control, resolving conflict and how organisation change is either promoted or resisted (Hatch, 2006; Pfeffer, 1982, 1997). Jeffrey Pfeffer notes organisation theory studies provide:

...an interdisciplinary focus on a) the effect of social organizations on the behaviour and attitudes of individuals within them, (b) the effects of individual characteristics and actions on organization, ...(c) the performance, success, and survival of organizations, (d) the mutual effects of environments, including resource and task, political, and cultural environments on organizations and vice versa, and (e) concerns with both the epistemology and methodology that undergird research on each of these topics (Pfeffer, 1997, p. 4).

Drawing from such a wide variety of fields, two schools of theory in particular are identified; contingency theory and institutional theory to aid analysis of indigenous organisational features, the configuring of organisational elements, how success is defined and how all of these aspects are influenced by cultural values.

Contingency theory

Contingency theory is one of the more prominent theoretical approaches to the study of organisations from the 1960s (Blau, 1970; Burns & Stalker, 1961; Galbraith, 1973; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Thompson, 1967; Woodward, 1965), and is a branch of systems design guided by the notion that “organisations whose internal features best match the demands of their environment will achieve the best adaptation” (R.W. Scott, 1998, p. 96). The term contingency theory was coined by Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) who challenged the conventional administrative theorists of the time seeking to develop general principles applicable to all organisations, by positing that there was no single best way to organise, and that design decisions are dependent on environmental conditions; the contingency factors. Jay Galbraith (1973, p. 2) gives two hypotheses underpinning contingency theory: (1) there is no best way to organise, and (2) any way of organising is not equally effective. Scott (1998) expands on this by adding a further notion that the “best way to organise depends on the nature of the environment to which the organisation must relate” (p. 96). Therefore, the optimal mode of organising is dependent on the external environment within which the organisation resides, and contingency theorists are concerned with the impact these contingency factors make on the organisation.

Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), argued different environments, and their contingency factors influence organisations in different ways; organisations in uncertain and dynamic environments faced different requirements and demands than those experienced by

organisations inhabiting more stable contexts. The more complex the environment, the more complex the structure needs to be leading to greater differentiation, which in itself leads to greater internal disharmony and the establishment of coordinating mechanisms to resolve tensions (R.W. Scott, 1998). In this manner, achieving an 'optimal fit' includes the co-alignment of individual sub-units to the environment to which they relate and modes of coordination through which the larger organisation also relates to the environment as a whole (R.W. Scott, 1998, p. 96). In summary, contingency theory does not prescribe any singular optimal form, instead, suggesting the 'best adaptation' is achieved when 'design choices are contingent on both the strategy selected and the environment in which the business is operating' (Kates & Galbraith, 2007, p. 4). In other words, effective organisations are those that have the best 'system of fits' among their internal and external elements.

Contingency theory conceives organisations as adaptive organisms, constantly evolving to ensure survival in a fluid environment; however, analysis is largely confined to the technical elements within the environment. Contingency theory stresses the role played by technical requirements, resource streams and information flows and how their exchange moulds the organisation, but this has been to the neglect of analysis of cultural forces. The contingency theory literature reviewed (Burns & Stalker, 1961; Donaldson, 2001; Galbraith, 1973; Hedberg et al., 1976; Kates & Galbraith, 2007; Lawrence, 1993; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Mintzberg, 1979; R.W. Scott, 2008), presented organisations as technical systems devoid of culture and bound to instrumental objectives and 'natural' economic laws (R.W. Scott, 2008). A key component of this study is analysis of the cultural forces (both internal and external), and the influence of cultural values on indigenous organisations. For the purposes of this investigation, analysis must include examination of whether indigenous cultural values make indigenous organisations different from Western models, and how they are impacted by a dominant colonial power culture. As a tool to aid organisational analysis, contingency theory is well suited to support examination of the features of current indigenous organisation design and develop a broad description of their organisational elements and how these 'fit' both internally and with their external context. However, contingency theory is largely confined to technical elements, therefore, this study also utilises institutional theory as an additional body of literature to inform analysis of the cultural elements of the organisation and its environment.

Institutional theory

With cultural systems largely being over looked by most early organisational theorists, institutional theory emerged as analysts placed greater emphasis of the importance of the social and cultural context within which organisations operate (R.W. Scott, 2008). An institutional approach contends the institutional environment is a strong influence on the structuring of an organisation, that organisations are not just technical systems, that they are human systems, and, therefore, subject to political, social and cultural dynamics (R.W. Scott, 1998). The institutional theory literature surveyed (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; J.W. Meyer, 2008; J.W. Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; R.W. Scott, 1987, 1998, 2004, 2008; Smircich, 1983; P.S. Tolbert & Zucker, 1994; P. S. Tolbert & Zucker, 1996; L.G. Zucker, 1977; L. G. Zucker, 1983), examines how elements become institutionalised to the extent that organisations conform to prescribed models or blueprints of behaviour, albeit unconsciously, to attain legitimacy; irrespective of whether they improve efficiency or not. An institutional approach ‘attends to the deeper and more resilient aspects of social structure’ and considers how structures, rules and norms become institutionalised as guidelines for behaviour (R.W. Scott, 2004, p. 2). Organisations are not just structured in accordance to the technical requirements of their tasks, but are also a product of ‘rationalized norms legitimizing adoption of appropriate structural models’ (R.W. Scott, 2004, p. 14). Organisations exist in a socially and culturally constructed arena; therefore, for an organisation to thrive in an institutionalised environment, it must garner legitimacy through the adoption and display of ‘normalised’ trappings. In contrast to contingency theory’s adaptive approach, institutional theory places greater emphasis on the social context of the organisation and how the pursuit of organisational legitimacy results in organisations conforming to structural models held to be appropriate by society, irrespective of suitability.

Institutional theory accords attention to the process of institutionalisation whereby individuals come to accept a shared definition of a social reality. Actions and actors are socially coded, thereby institutionalised to the extent that certain types of actions and certain classes of actors become ‘normalised’ (R.W. Scott, 1987). Without realising it, individuals and organisations conform to the prevailing rules and beliefs of society. Decisions are framed by socially constructed ‘norms’ whose power is such that individuals or organisations are largely unaware and would attribute choices made to ‘best practice’ or its ‘just the way things are done’ (R.W. Scott, 1987). Institutional theory challenges the notion of ‘culture free’

organisations, instead offering a perspective to inform a deeper analysis of the cultural infrastructure and context that underpins organisational behaviour and decision-making.

Widespread organisational conformity to 'standard models' also suggests many of these design choices are largely hard-wired or predetermined. When the organisation designer begins the task of constructing or adapting the organisation they do not do so from scratch (J.W. Meyer, 2008). There are a variety of legal, social and ideological constraints alongside a suite of pre-existing templates or models to adopt as noted by Meyer: 'People are likely to install these in the organization they are building with little by way of thought or decision: exotic psychological assumptions are not required' (2008, pp. 792-793). By highlighting the power these normative influences have over organisational decision-making and design, analysis can extend beyond the technical structuring of an organisation to make visible the less visible cultural values that shape both organisational actions and actors.

Institutional theory supports a more cultural mode of organisational inquiry that recognises the practice of organisational design and management are cultural forms in themselves and part of a broader cultural infrastructure (Smircich, 1983). Institutional theory provides an investigative perspective to identify and map the influence social norms have on organisations and challenge the assumptions that have premised their structuring, as Linda Smircich notes: "A cultural analysis moves us in the direction of questioning taken-for-granted assumptions, raising issues of context and meaning, and bringing to the surface underlying values" (1983, p. 355). Thus, whilst common organisational inquiry focuses on the values of individuals, or those supported by an organisational culture, institutional theory shifts focus to the values of the wider organisational field and society in general, to illuminate the cultural values and ideologies that are embedded in the cultural infrastructure of society (R.W. Scott, 1987).

Contingency theory's focus on external elements is useful for informing analysis of organisational features and their configuration but neglects culture; both as a contingency and a determinant of organisational behaviour, presupposing that organisations exist in a 'culture-free' environment. Institutional theory exposes how organisation design choices and practices exist and are framed within a cultural context, drawing attention to the roles and behaviours actors play in this environment. Here, a cultural analysis equips the researcher with the appropriate tools to examine the role culture and cultural context play in organisational life.

Institutional theory provides the mechanisms to investigate how contemporary indigenous organisations are ‘institutionalised’ in accordance with their unique cultural values, or perhaps not. Similarly, a cultural mode of analysis can also illuminate the role a dominant colonial power, such as the state plays, in placing constraints on the creation and maintenance of indigenous organisations. Institutional theory provides a set of investigative tools to determine the extent indigenous organisations have merely adopted Western norms: (1) due to the constraints imposed upon them by their Western colonial context or alternatively (2) because they simply could not conceive another way of organising. In summary, cultural institutions play a significant and largely unconscious role in shaping and constraining organisation design choices and actions. Analysis of the literature of institutional theory has demonstrated its suitability to inform a more ‘culturally nuanced’ examination of the influence of cultural values and cultural contexts on the design, features, configuration, and ultimate success of current indigenous organisations.

Despite much of this discussion focusing on the constraints institutionalism places on contemporary indigenous organisations, this body of literature also provides hope in uncovering colonising and assimilationist processes that influence indigenous organisations. Institutional theory also has an emancipatory role to play in identifying the constraints imposed by the colonial state, which is the first step towards the development of indigenously grounding schema to guide the design and destinies of contemporary indigenous organisations. As Scott (2008) notes: ‘By stressing the role of institutions as curbing and constraining choice and action, we ignore ways in which institutions can also empower actors and enable actions...Institutional forces can liberate as well as constrain’ (p.220)

The survey of literature has identified an absence of literature concerning indigenous organisation design. This gap is likely best filled by qualitative research focused on indigenous organisations and communities; hence the appropriateness of indigenous theory that privileges indigenous voice. Thus, organisation theory will help inform the study but indigenous theory, specifically Kaupapa Māori and tribal critical theory, will inform how the data is viewed and interpreted.

Summary

The scope of this investigation includes analysis of the features, organisational elements, cultural values and cultural contexts of current indigenous organisations. Analysis of literature has drawn upon branches of organisation theory literature including organisation design, contingency theory and institutional theory to inform the study, thereby situating and connecting this study to the broad field of organisation theory. Indeed, indigenous organisations have evolved from this body of theory, consciously or not, suggesting even the institutions created to emancipate indigenous groups could potentially be colonising through their adoption of structures normalised by the mainstream. Analysis of the existing literature has identified a significant gap concerning indigenous organisations, their design, their contexts, and how cultural values influence organisational elements and definitions of success. The research aim of this study arises out of this gap in the literature. This study aims to identify the features of indigenous organisation design and build an understanding of how their elements and definitions of success are influenced by indigenous cultural values. The intended outcome of the study is to generate new knowledge of how indigenous institutions can be designed to best ‘fit’ their indigenous cultural contexts and values, ensuring the cultural identity and soul of their community is not sacrificed for economic prosperity.

This chapter has surveyed the literature to establish what is already known and how existing literature relates to this study. The next chapter will outline the research methodology and design.

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

The previous chapter demonstrated that there is an absence of literature and significant gaps in our knowledge concerning indigenous organisations. These gaps can be partly attributed to the literature depicting organisations as culture-free resulting in the neglect of examination of their cultural forces. This thesis seeks to address this gap by providing a richer and more culturally nuanced approach to organisation design, whilst situating indigenous institutions within their own cultural contexts. Such goals necessitate an alternative approach to build knowledge of indigenous organisations and the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In response to the research aims of this thesis, a case study design using a grounded theory approach was deemed most appropriate. This chapter provides the rationale for adopting a qualitative approach for this study. The first section outlines the research questions. The second section describes the research design and methodology.

Research questions

The methodology was designed to answer the overarching question: ‘What are the features of current indigenous organisational design and how are organisational elements and definitions of success influenced by culture?’

Table 1 Research questions

What are the features of current indigenous organisation design and how are organisational elements and definitions of success influenced by culture?	
What are the organisation design features?	What is the current structure?
	What are the roles and responsibilities for the different groupings within the organisation?
	How are decisions made and who has the authority to make them?
What are the limitations?	What are the tensions/issues within the organisation and how are they resolved?
	How does the external context impact upon the organisation?

How do indigenous cultural values influence the organisation?	How do indigenous cultural values influence strategy, organisation and structure?
	How is success defined for the organisation and by whom?
	How do indigenous cultural values impact on definitions of success?
	How does the current structure meet cultural aspirations?
	What is the next step in the evolution of the organisation?

The aim of this research is to address the knowledge gap concerning indigenous organisations and their design. The research sought to understand the factors that influence indigenous organisation design and how they are influenced by indigenous cultural values. To achieve this goal, the research needed to understand the social, political and cultural contexts of indigenous organisations. In order to do this, it became apparent that a multiple case study approach would best suit the research questions in order to understand indigenous organisations as a phenomenon and make meaning of their context (Merriam, 2002).

Description of research design

The research methodology has two key components: 1) case study design outlines the processes for the initial descriptive phase where the research articulated what the cases currently are, and 2) grounded theory outlines the inductive qualitative approach to theory construction and analysis of data.

Case study design

For this study a case study design was identified as the ideal approach as it allows for a specific, intensive description and analysis of an individual social unit, such as an institution or community (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). Case study seeks to generate an in-depth description of the phenomenon and is defined by the unit of analysis rather than the topic of investigation (Merriam, 2002). For the purposes of this research, the unit of analysis and thereby the boundaries of the study are focused on the design of current indigenous

organisations. Due to the lack of existing literature on indigenous organisation design the research is not informed by any existing propositions or hypotheses, however, it is informed by organisation theory literature. As a method, case study design captures activity within its 'true' environment and is further validated if the researcher is familiar with that environment. A key feature of the case study approach is its emphasis on understanding processes as they occur in their context through which the researcher gains a greater understanding of "how behaviour and/or processes are influenced by, and influence context" (Hartley, 2004, p. 323). Case study is particularly suitable for analyses requiring a detailed understanding of social and organisational processes because of the depth of the rich qualitative data collected (Hartley, 2004). A case study can be defined as a 'detailed investigation, often with data collected over a period of time, of phenomena, within their context, to provide an analysis of the context and processes which illuminate the theoretical issues being studied' (Hartley, 2004, p. 323). Case study in itself is not a method, but a research strategy which is focused on the theoretical underpinnings and interest in a specific phenomenon (Stake, 2005). Hartley(2004) notes case study as a research strategy provides a comprehensive set of investigative tools well suited for examining organisations and their functioning within their context:

Case study research is a heterogeneous activity covering a range of research methods and techniques, a range of coverage (from single case study through carefully matched pairs up to multiple cases), varied levels of analysis (individuals, groups, organisations, organisational fields or social policies), and differing lengths and levels of involvement in organisational functioning (p.332).

Rather than prescribing the tools of inquiry, the methods used to progress a case study are determined by the research questions themselves.

Criticism that case study design is not generalisable to a broader context, and is not a relevant research tool, is acknowledged by researchers engaged in case study design (Baxter & Jack, 2008). However, case study design advocates also note that there is a need for understanding that it is the reader not the researcher who will determine what from the case study can be applied to their context (Merriam, 2002). Yin (2003) notes that it is not the specific content from a case study that is generalisable, but the theories that are generalised from the data. Case study design aims to generate theory through analytic generalisation, not statistical

generalisation (Yin, 2003).

As a well-accepted qualitative research tool, case study design also aligns with a TribalCrit agenda (Brayboy, 2006) as it has the ability to explore narratives (from multiple perspectives) about indigenous realities, and maintain the context in which the narrative is based. Therefore, it is less likely to produce findings that favour only one research agenda, but is able to present different perspectives as valid. This aligns well with TribalCrit and the broader research aim of analysing contemporary indigenous organisations within a wider context of Western colonialist and assimilationist processes. Similarly, TribalCrit's focus on narrative and story as important sources of data, complements case study's focus on gathering data from a variety of sources, to produce a rich and illuminating description of the phenomenon (Brayboy, 2006).

Participants

The research design employs a multiple case study approach (Stake, 2005), where three contemporary indigenous organisations have been analysed, to examine the phenomenon of current indigenous organisation design. For the purposes of this study, an indigenous organisation is defined as belonging to an indigenous population and charged with advancing collective interests and the stewardship of collectively owned assets. Indigenous groups have been identified and selected based upon a popular working definition from Jose R Martinez Cobo's (2004) Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Peoples for the United Nations:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system (p.2)

What distinguishes the selection of specific indigenous cases from other non-Western cultures, such as China, India and Japan, is that this research is investigating non-dominant indigenous organisations in a setting where the indigenous population has been colonized by a Western society.

A multiple case study approach was adopted, to provide greater opportunities to build understanding of the similarities and differences of indigenous organisations within each context and across contexts (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Multiple cases enable consistent patterns across the cases to become apparent and support better generalisation (Eisenhardt, 1989). The selected cases in this multiple case study design are Kamehameha Schools of Hawai‘i, the Sealaska Corporation of Alaska, and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu of New Zealand.

The Sealaska Corporation is one of thirteen Alaska Native Regional Corporations formed in 1972 under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, in settlement of aboriginal land claims. The Sealaska Regional Corporation has nearly 22,000 tribal member shareholders descending from three Alaska Native groups: Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian. The organisation operates a managed holdings company with subsidiaries in natural resources, manufacturing, services and gaming, operating in the United States, Mexico, Canada and Europe. In 2013, Sealaska’s total assets were valued at \$319,851 million, and provided benefits to its tribal shareholders through the Sealaska Heritage Institute, the Elders’ Settlement Trust, and share dividends (Sealaska, 2013c). The Sealaska Corporation has recently celebrated its 40th anniversary and continues in its mission ‘to create opportunities for our people and to strengthen culture and communities within our homeland by embedding Alaska Native values in daily operations and achieving business excellence’ (Sealaska, 2012, p. 1).

Kamehameha Schools (formerly Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate), is one of America’s largest charitable trusts established in Hawai‘i in 1887 by Bernice Pauahi Bishop (the last surviving descendant of the Kamehameha dynasty), to fulfil her desire to create educational opportunities in perpetuity to improve the capability and well-being of people of Hawaiian ancestry. Before her death, Princess Pauahi bequeathed 375,000 acres of land, then the largest private landholdings in Hawai‘i, to found and maintain Kamehameha Schools. In 2013, the overall fair value of this endowment was \$10.1 billion, spread across financial and land assets, commercial and residential real estate (Kamehameha Schools, 2011). In the 2012-2013 fiscal year, the Kamehameha Schools Trust spent \$362 million servicing nearly 47,500

learners including 1,542 in Kamehameha preschools, 5,392 in Kamehameha campuses across several islands, and a broad range of educational programmes for native Hawaiians (Kamehameha Schools, 2013). The trust celebrated its 125th anniversary in 2012.

Ngāi Tahu is the principal iwi of New Zealand's South Island and is a collective descendent from the ancestor Tahu Pōtiki. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu was established by the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act of 1996, to advance the collective interests of the iwi. The executive functions of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu are exercised by the Office of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, which manages representational activities, protects the rights of Ngāi Tahu and delivers social, educational, environmental and cultural programmes. Ngāi Tahu Holdings is the commercial arm of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, charged with prudently managing and growing the collective assets received from the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act of 1998. In 2013, the Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporation had total assets of \$1,032 billion with subsidiaries in property, tourism, seafood and capital investments (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2013a). A total of \$17.3 million was distributed to Ngāi Tahu individuals, families and tribal communities through a range of social, educational, environmental and cultural programmes and direct distributions (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2013a).

Analysis of a single or multiple iwi corporations provides fewer opportunities for learning as they have similar organisation designs and reflect similar contingencies. Inclusion of international cases enables a deeper examination of indigenous organisations inhabiting differing contexts with variations in organisation design, ethnicity, geography, age, size and population (tribal or collectivist orientation). These varying contingencies create greater opportunities to learn about the dynamics and contexts of indigenous organisations. The selected cases in this multiple-case design, Kamehameha Schools, Sealaska, and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, have been chosen to illuminate contrasts and similarities across the contexts to enhance the potential for learning (Hartley, 2004). The selection of these cases leans towards those that offer contrasting contexts, to support the growing of a deeper understanding of how context influences indigenous organisation design and enable the possibility for theoretical contributions to be potentially generalizable across multiple indigenous organisations (Eisenhardt, 1989). Thus the cases have been chosen for theoretical, not statistical reasons (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Yin, 2003).

The initial identification of the three cases came through the researcher's participation in the First Nations Futures Programme run by the Woods Institute of Stanford University. The researcher is an indigenous person who descends from Ngāi Tahu; the principal Māori tribe of New Zealand's South Island and has a background in iwi development having worked in his own tribal organisation, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Ngāi Tahu is a partner of the First Nations Futures Programme, which is an indigenous leadership development programme run by Stanford University and Kamehameha Schools. In 2011, the researcher was selected as one of the Ngāi Tahu fellows for the programme and travelled to Stanford University to work alongside fellows from both Kamehameha Schools and the Sealaska Regional Corporation. The three indigenous organisations have an existing relationship as partners in the First Nations Futures programme.

The researcher approached a representative from each of the participant institutions with a proposal of the intended research design written by the researcher. Consent was given by the Chair or a senior executive from each participating institution to proceed and apply for ethical approval. Once ethics approval was gained a senior executive from each institution provided the researcher with a list of suitable respondents and introduced the researcher to each participant. Following this introduction, respondents were provided with information on the project before face-to-face interviews. These senior indigenous sponsors were crucial to gaining access to participants with the sponsor's personal mana⁹ being an additional factor in participants choosing to participate. The researcher benefitted from having already established relationship with senior indigenous leaders and the fact that there were several layers of existing relationships between all three of the indigenous groups.

The majority of individuals recommended opted to participate and were eager to engage and be part of the project. A small minority were unable to participate due to travel and time constraints. The participants viewed the researcher as a member of another indigenous group and organisation, which situated the researcher as a member of an indigenous research community and an indigenous development organisation. This insider status of sorts, contributed to the willingness of participants who both sought to contribute knowledge to the development of other indigenous groups and also learn more about the researchers own

⁹ A Māori language term meaning prestige, authority, power.

indigenous context. The participants were very generous with their time and eager to share resulting in rich data.

Data collection

Data was collected through interviews, field notes and documents, to ensure data triangulation (Yin, 2003). Due to the identified absence of literature on current indigenous organisation design, the primary method of data collection was face-to-face semi-structured interviews. Interviews began with a series of broad questions regarding the organisation, before moving to more focused questions, inviting detailed discussion regarding specific features of the organisation (Charmaz, 2006). For the international case studies, the researcher began interviews by introducing the historical context and structure of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. This positioned the researcher as an insider, as a member of an indigenous community and organisation. Interviews began with the interviewees asking questions about Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu's context, before moving on to the researcher asking questions about their particular context.

A total of 90 interviews were undertaken, comprised of 47-recorded semi-structured interviews with primary informants and 43 informal interviews with secondary informants. The data gathered from the 47 primary informants was analysed using an In-vivo coding method (Saldana, 2009), and directed analysis relating to the research questions. The 43 interviews with secondary informants only focused on the international case studies and supported the researcher to build a deeper understanding of their cultural context.

The research involved immersion in an indigenous cultural context. As a Māori researcher, the researcher had to gain knowledge of the cultural values that underpinned a Native Hawaiian and Native Alaskan worldview. Understanding their indigenous life ways, experience of colonisation, and future aspirations was crucial to situating the case within its cultural context. The data gathered from the 43 secondary informants was crucial to establishing the cultural contexts and case descriptions for the international cases. Data drawn from secondary sources, field notes, and secondary informants was utilised to write a description for each case. Reports, documentation, historical texts, and informal interviews with secondary informants were used to build an understanding of the cultural worldview to situate each indigenous organisation within its own cultural and historical context.

30 semi-structured interviews with primary informants were conducted for the international cases, with a further 43 informal interviews with secondary informants. The interviews for the international cases were conducted over a four-month period whilst the researcher was resident in the United States in 2013. Analysis of this data was completed to inform the collection of data for the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu case in 2014. Seventeen primary informants were interviewed for the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu case. Additional secondary interviews were not undertaken for the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu case, due to the researcher having grown up immersed in this cultural context and being an insider within this indigenous community.

Within each of the cases, the selection of participants sought to collect a broad range of perspectives on the organisation, to build deeper understanding of how organisation design is articulated, and how it operates. The respondents were chosen to reflect multiple perspectives of, and within, the organisation including staff and community members, indigenous and non-indigenous staff, as well as past, current, and emerging leaders as outlined in Table 2.

Table 2: Profile of respondents

Respondent Type	Number
Indigenous elders	2
Indigenous leaders	1-2
Organisation designer	1
Indigenous executive staff	1-2
Non-indigenous executive/manager	1-2
Indigenous Manager	1
Indigenous staff	1-2
Young indigenous staff/leaders	1-2
Indigenous community representatives	1-2

Inductive qualitative approach

Deductive reasoning offers a 'top-down' approach for researchers where one works from the more general information to the more specific. Here the researcher begins with a broad view of information and with a theory they have developed about their topic. This is then narrowed down to more specific hypotheses, eventually enabling the researcher to test the hypotheses with specific data and confirm, or disprove the original theory. In contrast, inductive reasoning works from the 'bottom-up' moving from specific observations to building broader generalisations and eventually theory. An inductive approach is more open-ended and exploratory as the researcher begins with observation before detecting patterns, which form the basis of tentative hypotheses and the foundations of an emergent theory.

Due to the lack of literature on indigenous organisations it would be difficult to formulate hypotheses for testing purposes, so an inductive qualitative approach has been adopted, as this is better suited for situations where the phenomena are little known (Thomas, 2006). The role of inductive qualitative content analysis is to gather data to build concepts, hypotheses, or theories, and to 'understand the meaning a phenomenon has for those involved' (Merriam, 2002, p. 5). Qualitative researchers build their findings from the 'bottom-up' using an inductive process 'by organising the data into increasingly more abstract units of information' (Creswell, 2007, p. 38). Case studies are particularly well suited for examination of new or emerging phenomena, and have an important role in generating hypotheses and building theory (Hartley, 2004). A particular strength of case study method is the joint development of data collection and analysis that supports the development of theory grounded in empirical evidence (Hartley, 2004). A key characteristic of case studies and grounded theory methods is the often simultaneous process of data collection, data coding, and data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This allows the researcher to test and adapt lines of inquiry and further probe emerging themes during the data collection process. This ensures the researcher is constantly comparing theory and data, essentially building theory grounded in the evidence (Merriam, 2002).

An additional strength of the 'bottom-up' approach of case study theory building, is that the resulting theory is highly likely to be empirically valid, because the overlapping process of data collection, coding and analysis, has intimately tied the theory-building process with empirical observation (Eisenhardt, 1989). This is further strengthened in a multiple case study

approach where the continual reconciliation of empirical evidence across the different cases limits the potential for theory generation to succumb to the biases of the researcher. This is achieved through extending analysis beyond initial impressions of a single case through constant comparison of theory and data across subsequent cases in an iterative process towards building theory that matches the data (Eisenhardt, 1989).

For the purposes of this research, where indigenous voice is privileged, the design uses inductive coding, specifically grounded theory methods, to support theory to emerge from the data rather than being imposed by the researchers preconceived theoretical models.

Grounded theory

The data from the case studies was analysed using a grounded theory approach to generate new theory on the phenomenon of contemporary indigenous organisations. Grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) is a mode of inductive qualitative inquiry whereby researchers systematically and inductively build theory about a phenomenon from the data (Glaser, 1992, p. 16). Its purpose is to provide a method to explain a ‘basic social process’ from the data. Grounded theory methodology originated from sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss following their studies of dying in hospitals. Their book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967) first articulated a systematic method of qualitative analysis intended to construct abstract theoretical explanations of social processes. Charmaz describes grounded theory methods as “systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories grounded in the data themselves” (2006, p. 2). The core idea is that theory development does not come “off the shelf” but is ‘grounded’ in the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this manner, the goal is to build theory from the ‘bottom up’ to ensure theory is derived from and connected to the social reality it seeks to explain. The defining components of grounded theory methods are summarised by Charmaz (2006, pp. 7-8) as:

- Simultaneous data collection and analysis
- Constructing analytic codes and categories from data, not preconceived hypotheses
- Using the constant comparative method during each stage of analysis
- Advancing theory development during each step of data collection and analysis

- Memo-writing to elaborate categories, specify their properties, define relationships between categories, and identify gaps
- Sampling aiming toward theory construction, not population representativeness
- Conducting the literature review after developing independent analysis

Following their initial statements in 1967, Glaser and Strauss had a very public ‘intellectual wrestle’ and have taken grounded theory in different directions. This led to the development of differing schools of thought, specifically ‘emergent grounded theory’ (Glaser, 1992) and ‘systematic grounded theory’ (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and later ‘constructivist grounded theory’ (Charmaz, 2006).

Glaser maintains that grounded theory is an emergent method. Charmaz describes an emergent method as building an inductive understanding of the empirical world as events unfold and knowledge accrues (2008, p. 155). Here, theory emerges directly out of the data, through the systematic and inductive approach to collecting and analysing data. The method ensures the emergent categories that rise out of analysis, are continually checked against the data to validate and ground the theory. It is through this iterative process, going back and forth between collecting and analysing data, that raises the emergent levels of analysis (Charmaz, 2008, p. 161). Glaser relies on theoretical codes, which are not presupposed but emerge from the processes of constantly comparing data, field notes, memos and theory. Because grounded theory is a method of explication and emergence, Glaser argues researchers should not force meaning on participants but remain open to what emerges in their research setting (1992). Glaser also advocates for not conducting a review of the literature until late in the analysis to ensure early data is not interpreted through existing theoretical lenses. Thus, Glaser’s ‘traditional or classical grounded theory’ theory offers a systematic, inductive, and iterative approach to emergent inquiry.

Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) version of grounded theory departs from Glaser’s strict adherence to an emergent method by focusing on new technical procedures. To support novice researchers, Strauss and Corbin developed a more systematic approach. This included detailed techniques to apply to data and coding that made grounded theory prescriptive rather than relying on emergence (Charmaz, 2008). Strauss and Corbin introduced axial coding as a set of procedures to specify the dimensions of a category, relating categories to concepts, delineating relationships between them, and then bringing the data back into a coherent whole

(Charmaz, 2006, p. 186). Axial coding and the conditional-consequential matrix, which forces the researcher to consider important contextual issues, form a coding paradigm and theoretical framework that relies on application rather than Glaser's reliance on theoretical codes and emergence (Charmaz, 2008). It is the prescriptive character and preconceived theoretical lens that marks the most significant departures of 'systematic grounded theory' from 'emergent grounded theory'.

A student of Glaser and Strauss, Charmaz (2000), has emerged as the leading proponent of constructivist grounded theory. A constructivist approach 'places priority on the phenomena of study, and sees both data and analysis as created from shared and relationships with participants and other sources of data' (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 129-130). A constructivist approach situates the researcher within the world being studied, and the data being collected. Here, researchers are embedded within the research process with emphasis on the researcher being close to participants rather than seeking to remove themselves. Constructivists view the emergent nature of grounded theory methods as originating in the researchers' questions, choices and strategies (Charmaz, 2006, p. 161) Therefore, the theory depends on the researcher's view and cannot stand outside of it (Charmaz, 2006).

Classic grounded theorists advocate delaying the literature review until after completing the analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The reason for delaying the literature review is to avoid the researcher being influenced by preconceived ideas and then using those ideas to frame their analysis of data. This is referred to as 'received theory'. Delaying the literature review supports the researcher to develop new theory, as they are encouraged to develop their own ideas rather than be influenced by existing theoretical lenses. For the purposes of this research, the proposal required a broad survey of organisation design literature. Once completed, this was left aside until analysis of the categories and their conceptual relationships had been completed. Then, the emergent theory was situated within the relevant literature. But it was only after writing the grounded theory that the researcher fully engaged with the literature. In this manner, the literature review was directed by the findings rather than data collection and analysis being directed by the literature.

For the purposes of this thesis, a grounded theory method has been adopted drawing upon the central tenets of the method and adapting them to suit the aims of this research. The principles of emergent-grounded theory align with Kaupapa Māori as they privilege

participant voice and allow the findings to emerge from the data rather than from Western theoretical hypotheses. Similarly, elements of the constructivist approach also align with Kaupapa Māori where the role the indigenous researcher plays in indigenous research is acknowledged and privileged. Grounded theory also fits well with a TribalCrit theoretical approach, because it doesn't assume a meaningful hypothesis prior to engaging with the community of interest (as in positivist research). It is, therefore, open to being informed by cultural and value differences within the research cohort. It also does not assume predetermined independent and dependent variables that may inform the hypothesis/es. Hence, it provides an appropriate tool for exploring subjective experiences and incorporating specific stories that illustrate complex interactions and cause/effect outcomes. In surveying the writings on grounded theory methods, the researcher found the assertion for novice grounded theorists to develop fresh theories and avoid seeing the world the lens of extant ideas (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6) most compelling. To address the gap in the literature 'fresh' theory must be developed. For it to be an indigenous theory it must also be free from the lens of 'extant ideas' propagated by Western notions of organisation. Instead, this research aims to interpret data to support original indigenous organisation theory to emerge.

Data analysis

The data was analysed using a grounded theory approach to generate theoretical perspectives on the phenomenon of contemporary indigenous organisations. The case study design primarily drew upon interview data. Charmaz argues intensive interviewing suits grounded theory methods as it permits an in-depth and open-ended exploration of a particular topic or experience (2006, p. 25). The interviews were further supported by analysis of documentation from the organisation (planning documents and annual reports).

Interview data from primary informants (47) was transcribed verbatim into a Microsoft Word document by a professional transcriber who signed a confidentiality agreement. Three initial interview transcripts were coded manually alongside another researcher to check for accuracy. Following this initial coding pilot, transcripts were then imported into a case study database (NVivo 10) that included field notes and memos. The data analysis procedures followed an inductive coding and thematic analysis to encode and order the qualitative data (Saldana, 2009). These codes were then used to generate underlying themes.

Interview transcripts from respondents were grouped into three transcript sub-groups for each case; community leaders and elders, indigenous staff and non-indigenous staff. Each transcript sub-group was coded and analysed separately.

Each of the transcripts was repeatedly analysed with detailed readings identifying a text segment focused on a particular concept or meaning (Bernauer, Lichtman, Jacobs, & Robertson, 2013). These content units were identified by the researcher and then assigned a code label using an In-vivo coding method with a paraphrase drawn from the exact words of the participants to prioritise and honour participant voice (Saldana, 2009). Saldana describes a code in qualitative inquiry as a word or short phrase that is 'essence-capturing' in that it simultaneously captures, summarises and categorises the data (2009). These In-vivo paraphrases are labels representing the 'manifest meaning' that captures the intent and meaning of each content unit and grounds the research findings in the data (Berg, 2004). Each of these content units were carefully considered to identify 'the multiple meanings inherent in the text' (Thomas, 2006, p. 241). This systematic approach to the reading and coding of interview transcripts enabled the identification of emergent themes, and transcript categories allowed the research to identify similarities and differences across sub-groups (Elliott & Gillie, 1998).

All of the data from the interview transcripts was coded and then analysed in relation to the research aims. Text that was irrelevant to the research aims was coded as irrelevant and categorised with other paraphrases as a 'miscellaneous' category (Berelson, 1971). The categories were then further analysed and grouped together with conceptually similar data to form parent node categories. The researcher used qualitative analysis software (NVivo 10) to code transcripts and build categories. As the researcher grouped the categories based on similarity of meaning further hierarchies of parent nodes were created to form higher level theoretical categories. These theoretical categories formed the foundations for the emergent theory.

An inductive approach allows 'research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies' (Thomas, 2006, p. 238). The researcher used an iterative process of coding, grouping, modifying node structures and building categories (Bernauer et al., 2013). The content analysis process followed Lichtman's 'Three Cs' sequence of codes-categories-

concepts (2013, p. 251). Content units were coded (paraphrased), codes were grouped into major concepts, and then concepts were grouped into summary categories, which informed the development of theory. This approach constantly prompts the researcher to interact with the data through systematic comparison at every stage of analysis, another core tenet of grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2008). The intended outcome of this inductive approach is to create ‘a small number of summary categories’ (three to eight main categories) that capture the key and emergent themes that arise from the raw data and are given to be the most important themes in relation to the research questions (Thomas, 2006, p. 242).

The categories in this analysis were inductive in that they came directly from the data with category names drawn from the exact words of participants. Drawing the category names directly from the words of participants helped the findings stay grounded in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and anchored analysis in the participants reality (Charmaz, 2006). To aid the identification of emergent themes, the researcher wrote analytic memos about the categories and emergent patterns across the data. Grounded theorists use memoing as an intermediary stage between data collection and the writing of the final paper or thesis (Charmaz, 2008). Memos assist the researcher to analyse codes, explore ideas and conceptual relationships that may inform further data collection or help conceptualise emerging theory. Memo writing is a distinct contribution of grounded theory and helps the researcher to capture and engage with ideas in progress (Charmaz, 2008).

Sample coding tables from each case have been provided as an appendix to demonstrate the chain of evidence.

Ethical considerations

The ethical issues in conducting this research were centred on culturally appropriate methods for attaining informed consent, maintaining participant confidentiality and ensuring the cultural integrity of each case. The individuals who participated in this study were nominated to the researcher by an indigenous sponsor from the participating organisation. Participants were informed prior to their giving consent of the purpose and aims of this study.

Participants were informed of their rights to refuse to participate, or withdraw during the course of the research up until data analysis. Interviews occurred in the workplace so participant confidentiality was paramount. Private facilities were arranged and participants were assured no raw data would be provided to their employer and that their confidentiality

would be maintained at all times. Participant anonymity was maintained throughout this research. Each participant was assigned a code to protect their identity and direct references to individual staff members were removed from the data during the coding phase to protect their anonymity.

The participant organisations are named in this research. Due to their high profile within their own communities, the ability to maintain confidentiality for each participant organisation was compromised. This was discussed with each organisation and consent was given to proceed.

To support the cultural integrity of the international case studies, additional indigenous scholars were approached to support the research. Indigenous researchers with expertise in indigenous methodologies, histories and politics, were approached to be part of the project. A Native Hawaiian researcher and a Native American researcher helped build the researcher's understanding of indigenous theoretical perspectives in the United States. These indigenous researchers helped prepare the researcher for immersion within Native Hawaiian and Native Alaskan cultural contexts and linked the researcher with other local indigenous scholars. Both indigenous researchers were crucial to maintaining the cultural integrity of the two international cases.

Participants were offered the opportunity to check interview transcripts for accuracy prior to data analysis. Stakeholder checks were undertaken to enhance the credibility of findings. The sponsor for each participant organisation was supplied with initial findings and a later full preliminary copy of the research. These key stakeholders were invited to provide comment on and assess the research findings and the conclusions drawn (Thomas, 2006). These key organisation stakeholders and additional indigenous researchers were also invited to comment on the accuracy of the case descriptions to ensure their cultural integrity. These stakeholder checks occurred progressively throughout the project, and feedback was incorporated into the final document.

A key characteristic of qualitative research is that 'the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and data analysis' (Merriam, 2002, p. 50). As Denzin and Lincoln state, 'Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world' (2005, p. 3). Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings where they are the key instrument. A human instrument also has human biases that have the potential to impact the

study. As Creswell (2007) notes, a researcher cannot divorce themselves from their values, rather these values are made explicit to situate the researcher within the research. In this sense it is important to identify that I am Māori, I am a Māori researcher, I am a member of three indigenous tribes (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui) and I am also an employee of the indigenous iwi (tribal) organisation, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, which is the primary subject of this study. In this manner, I am undoubtedly cast as an insider with one of the groups engaged, Ngāi Tahu. Kaupapa Māori privileges the role of the indigenous researcher conducting research within an indigenous community, yet also recognises the constant need for reflexivity and thinking critically about the processes, relationships, quality and richness of the data gathered and analysis of this data (Smith, 1999). Although Kaupapa Māori privileges the cultural values and beliefs of indigenous research, the research design and methodology have been constructed to suit the aims and research questions of this inquiry.

The thesis data collection methodology was approved by the University of Canterbury's Human Ethics Committee and its Māori Research Advisory Group.

Summary

This chapter set out to articulate the rationale for adopting an inductive qualitative approach to address the gap in the literature concerning indigenous organisation design. In choosing case study design and a grounded theory method, consideration was given to the aims of this thesis and the influence of Kaupapa Māori as an indigenous theoretical framework. Case study design and emergent-grounded theory methods have been adopted to support the development of new and original indigenous organisation theory and ensure theory remains grounded in the data and the cultural contexts of the research settings. The chapter outlined the data collation, coding and analysis procedures before concluded with discussion on ethical considerations. The next chapters outline the research findings.

Chapter 4: Sealaska

This chapter, the first of three case studies, focuses on the case of the Sealaska Regional Corporation of Alaska. The chapter has two sections. The first section provides a description of the case and situates the case within its historical and cultural context. The research involved immersion in an indigenous cultural context. As an outsider, the researcher had to gain knowledge of the cultural values that underpinned the particular indigenous worldview of the research setting. Understanding their indigenous life ways, experience of colonisation and aspirations for the future was crucial to situating the case within its cultural context. The case description establishes the historical and cultural context for the case. It is derived from the analysis of documentation from the organisation, field notes, literature and interviews with 30 secondary informants. The second section outlines the key findings and theoretical concepts that emerged from the data. These findings are derived from the inductive qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts of 15 primary informants using grounded theory methods.

Sealaska case description

Introduction

Sealaska is one of thirteen for-profit regional Alaska Native corporations established as part of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971. Alaska Natives and The US Congress chose for-profit corporations to become the vehicle to advance Alaska Native economic development in a significant departure from previous Native American policy and treatment of aboriginal land claims. Large amounts of money and lands were transferred to thirteen regional and more than 220 village for-profit corporations established by ANCSA. Stocks in these new Alaska Native corporations were then issued to Alaska Native individuals alive at the time of settlement, thereby turning collective claims to aboriginal title into private shares. In this manner, Sealaska is owned by nearly 22,000 tribal member

shareholders from the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian peoples of Southeast Alaska and charged with providing economic, cultural and social benefits for its tribal shareholders.

Historical context

The Southeast coast of Alaska is populated by the Eyak, Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian peoples who share cultural similarities to the coastal indigenous peoples of present-day British Columbia (Langdon, 2002). The Eyak were an inland people that migrated to the coast before being slowly assimilated by the Tlingit. The Tlingit are the largest indigenous group in Southeast Alaska occupying nearly all the islands of the Southeast and mainland shore from Yakutat Bay to the Portland Canal (Langdon, 2002). Haida are the second largest cultural group mainly concentrated on the southern half of the Prince of Wales Island. The third group, Tsimshian, originally migrated from Canada with their descendants occupying Alaska's sole Indian reservation, Metlakatla, founded in 1887 (McClanahan & Bissett, 2008).

During the 10,000 years or more of Alaska Native occupation (Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2009) seasonal food-gathering or subsistence life ways formed the core of cultural patterns on the Southeast. The region had rich resources such as: clams, cockles, salmon, herring and bird eggs, seaweed, halibut and seals matched by deer, moose, mountain goats, and abundant quantities of berries gathered on the islands and mainland. This abundance of food resources led to what is regarded as the most intricate and highly developed social structures, protocols and art amongst Alaska's Native peoples (Langdon, 2002). Southeast Alaska Natives are matrilineal¹⁰ with their society divided up into moiety, clans clustered together under two totemic groupings, either the Raven or Eagle moiety, with children only marrying into the opposite moiety (McClanahan & Bissett, 2008). These animal totems are also depicted in the totem poles and other art forms for which the peoples of the Southeast are well-known and respected.

Early contact between Alaska Natives and non-Natives in the Southeast was initially limited to trade with Russian explorers until conflict ensued when Tlingit and Haida clans united to repel Russian attempts to appropriate tribal lands. Despite only having scattered trading posts, Russia eventually sold its interests in Alaska to the United States in the 1867 Treaty of Cession for \$7.2 million. The discovery of gold in 1898 and the development of commercial

¹⁰ Trace descent through their mother's lineage.

salmon fisheries and logging activities in Ketchikan drew much larger numbers of non-Native settlers into the region (T. Berger, 1985) placing further pressure on subsistence resources. This was followed by successive waves of foreign diseases that wrought devastation in indigenous communities and further encroachments by Missionaries and the federal education system whose policies sought the assimilation of Alaska Natives into ‘civilised’ society.

The 1867 Treaty of Cession was the first in a series of important pieces of legislation that reinforced uncertainty regarding the legal status of Alaska Natives and their claims to land (Case & Voluck, 2002). The federal relationship with Alaska Natives differed from that of the Native Americans of the lower forty-eight states in that there were no treaties signed. Alaska has never been considered ‘Indian Country’ with The United States officially recognising the sovereignty of Alaska Native tribes. The legal ambiguity concerning Alaska Natives continued in the federal Organic Act of 1884, which reserved responsibility for addressing claims to Native title with Congress.

In 1924, Alaska Natives were made citizens of The United States. At the same time, Tlingit lawyer William L. Paul and others from the Southeast rekindled a campaign for the recognition of aboriginal land claims. Following the Treaty of Cession, the Natives of the Southeast protested the sale of lands they had occupied for thousands of years. As a result in 1935 Congress passed a special act enabling them to sue in a bid to secure their aboriginal claims to land taken for the Tongass National Forest. The Tlingit and Haida received a favourable judgment from the United States Court of Claims in 1959, recognising claims to aboriginal title and were awarded \$7.5 million. This encouraged other Alaska Native groups to assert their claims to land.

The lands claims movement was galvanized by the threat of the State’s land selection programme following the 1959 Alaska Statehood Act. The act gave Congress absolute jurisdiction and control of Alaska lands and the State authority to select huge tracts of land but the issue of Native land claims was still unsettled (Hensley, 1996). The State’s land selections were seen as a significant threat to Native homelands and spurred Native communities into action. By the end of the 1960s, Alaska Natives had laid claim to nearly the entire 375 million acres in Alaska with the Alaska Federation of Natives mounting an all-out campaign to recognise claims to aboriginal title (McClanahan & Bissett, 2008). It was not

until 1966 however, when the Interior Secretary Stewart Udall put a land freeze on the conveyance of State land selections, that Alaska Natives had serious political leverage regarding aboriginal claims to land.

This leverage was increased when vast oil reserves were discovered in 1968 at Prudhoe Bay. Ironically, the oil companies aligned themselves with Native Alaskans recognising a legislated settlement was the only way to avoid endless litigation that would hold up the construction of a 900 mile pipeline across the state and numerous Native communities. The State was poor, and running a deficit government with Native land claims impeding the development of Alaska's land and oil resources. Congress also realised oil revenues could also help fund the cash portion of a lands claims settlement (Bradner, 2012). With unlikely, but powerful allies, the economic and political leverage Native Alaskans held led to Congress passing the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971.

Establishing the organisation

ANCSA was the largest settlement of aboriginal land claims in the history of The United States, leading to it being described by Tlingit lawyer Fred Paul as 'the largest, if not the only, bloodless redistribution of wealth in the history of humankind, let alone the United States' (Paul, 2003, p. 13). In December of 1971, President Nixon signed ANCSA, conveying fee title ownership of 44 million acres of federal land to Alaska Natives alongside a payment of \$962.5 million in exchange for forgoing all other claims to land. Only those Alaska Natives born before December 18, 1971, were included in the settlement. Being Native was defined as having one-fourth degree or more Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo ancestry, which equated to approximately 80,000 people with about 20,000 of those living outside of Alaska.

ANCSA authorised the establishment of thirteen regional for-profit corporations (twelve in Alaska and one for those living outside Alaska) and approximately 220 for-profit village corporations. The regional corporations are also required to contribute 70 per cent of their natural resource earnings to a profit sharing fund which was divided up amongst the Native corporations on a pro rata basis. Alaska Natives were able to enrol in the regional and village corporations where they grew up and considered home; or to the region where they were living at the time the act was passed (McClanahan & Bissett, 2008). Overnight the communal rights of Native Alaskans were converted to individual private property with Natives becoming shareholders after receiving shares in their regional and village corporations.

The scale of the settlement was matched only by its complexity and controversy. ANCSA also became a mechanism to resolve the final status of federal lands in Alaska (Bradner, 2012), and served multiple competing interests including Alaska Natives, the state of Alaska, the federal government and environmental interests (Case & Voluck, 2002). The bill was also a significant departure from previous federal Indian policy in that it established provisions for the corporatisation of the ANCSA settlement rather than establishing reservations. Key figures in Congress opposed the application of the Indian reservation system to Alaska as tribal governments was seen as the prime impediment to assimilation. Instead, Congress wanted to foster large-scale economic development to assimilate Alaska Natives through participation in the mainstream economy via regional and village corporations. (T. Berger, 1985)

Whilst Congress had motive for trying a corporate approach, there was also opposition from Alaska Natives towards the establishment of reservations. Native leaders wanted to establish a high level of self-determination and have control over settlement resources, to escape the self-imposed protector of Natives, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Alaska Federation of Natives, 2011). Treaties in the lower 48 states had been broken and assets placed in trust were controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This led Alaska Native leaders to support the corporate provisions; largely as this was the best alternative once traditional structures like reservations were rejected (McClanahan & Bissett, 2008). Thus, ANCSA is ‘an unprecedented experiment in Native American economic self-determination that Alaska Natives participated in crafted’ (Mitchell, 2001, p. 541). Congress created for-profit corporations to manage settlement assets, which Alaska Natives accepted to freely participate in the Alaskan economy, and gain a measure of self-determination for their peoples.

Native Alaskan Regional Corporations Established Pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, December 18, 1971 (Norris, 2002).

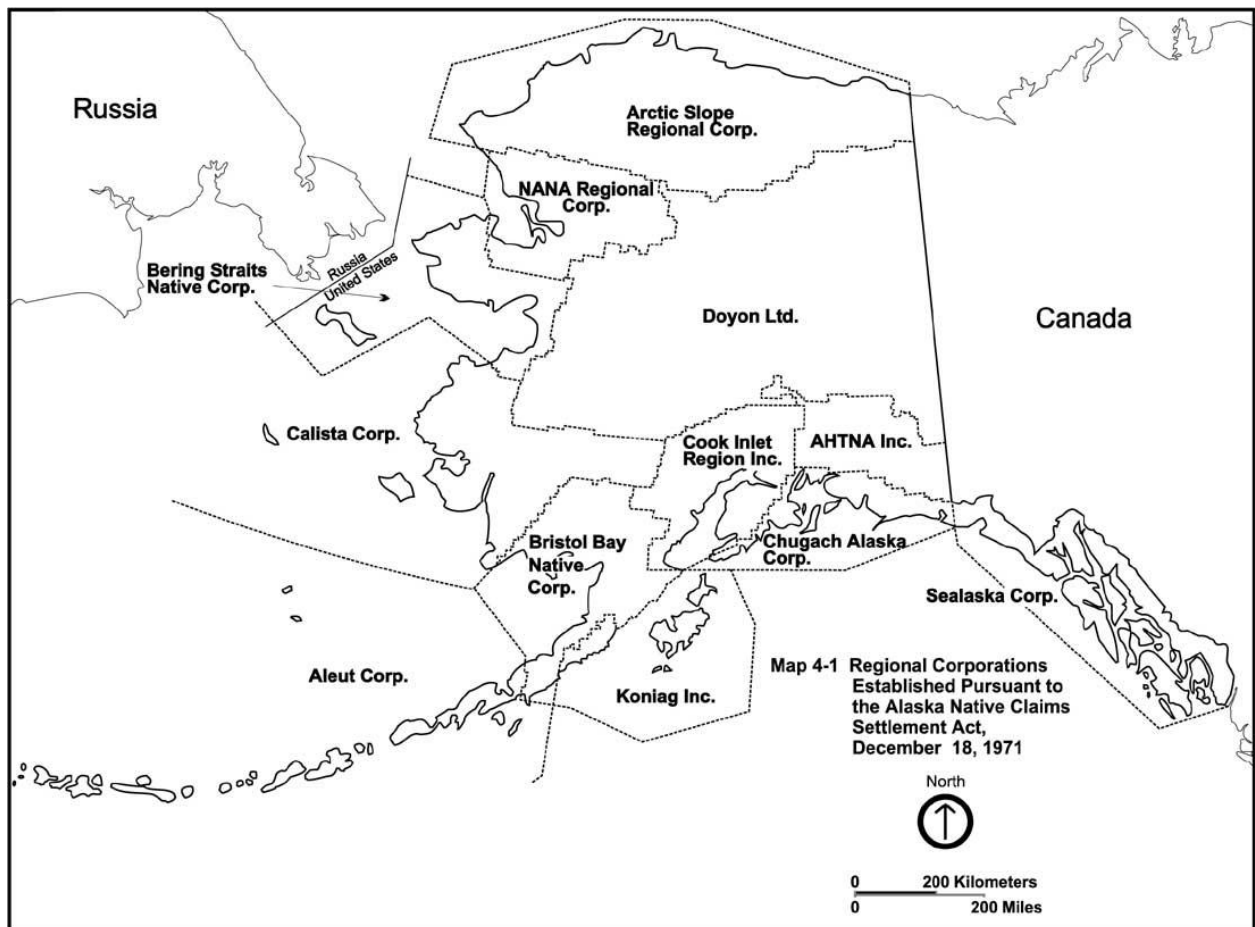


FIGURE 1 NATIVE ALASKAN REGIONAL CORPORATIONS

The establishment of Alaska Native Corporations (ANCs) in 1971 was followed by a period of relative economic decline, which created challenging conditions for these newly formed institutions (Anders & Anders, 1987). Implementing ANCSA took years to establish the corporations and then process the transfer of assets. The land selections often included litigation over various aspects of the land settlement and further drained resources (T. Berger, 1985). Remote Alaska Native villages were well positioned to make use of subsistence food resources but had unsuitable conditions for private economic activity lacking both human capital and business infrastructure. Although they received a significant injection of capital, ANCs still had to contend with the challenge of economic development in a remote and

largely undeveloped part of the Arctic (Anders & Anders, 1987). Expectations ANCSA would solve all Alaska Native social ills were based on profits that did not materialize, or were hard won demonstrating expectations underestimated the challenges this new class of Native corporations faced.

Evolution of the organisation

Sealaska is one of the largest of the thirteen Alaska Native Regional Corporations established under ANCSA. Sealaska was incorporated in 1972 with its original 15,782 tribal member shareholders descending from three tribes; Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian. The traditional homelands of these tribal groups extend from Yakutat in the north to the Queen Charlotte Islands of British Columbia to the south. This expansive territory includes the pristine coastlines and forests of the Southeast Alaskan panhandle where it is the largest private landowner in the region. Sealaska seeks to use its commercial activities to provide economic, cultural and social benefits to current and future generations of shareholders. Sealaska's primary source of revenue came from its timber harvesting. In 1981, Sealaska created the non-profit Sealaska Heritage Foundation, now called the Sealaska Heritage Institute, to manage its cultural and education programmes (Sealaska, 2013a).

Like many other ANCs, Sealaska suffered major setbacks after the settlement and by 1982 was on the brink of bankruptcy. Strong returns in fisheries and timber helped Sealaska to recover from its earlier losses by 1986, but its logging practices also brought increasing criticism from environmental groups. After relative prosperity in the 1990s, Sealaska ended the year 2000 in financial strife after a series of bad investments and tough economic conditions. A change in leadership and a stringent cost-cutting regime resulted in a significant economic turnaround for Sealaska in the early 2000s. Sealaska has built upon this over the last decade to become a major economic and political force in Alaska.

The challenges Sealaska faced, have not been purely economic as widely recognised flaws in the settlement resulted in on-going tensions for ANCs (Alaska Federation of Natives, 2011). ANCSA originally permitted the sale of Alaska Native Corporation stock after 1991 and enabled Alaska Natives born after 1971 to only own stocks through inheritance. Congress later amended ANCSA to prohibit the alienation of stocks but divisions between original shareholders (born before 1971), and those left out (born after 1971), fostered an alternative tribal governance movement against the ANCs (Bradner, 2012). In 2007 Sealaska

shareholders voted to enrol descendants and those referred to as ‘left outs’ into the corporation in a historic act that expanded membership. Even though this was detrimental to individual financial dividends, the intention was to “create a stronger collective voice for the future well-being of our people and culture”(Sealaska, 2007, p. 15).

Aspirations for Sealaska to be an economic development tool for rural villages created ambitious expectations and resentment when these aspirations were unrealised. The benefits of ANCSA were in urban communities as a result of better economic opportunities and infrastructure. To respond to these aspirations, Haa Aaní was established as a wholly owned subsidiary of Sealaska Corporation. Haa Aaní was charged with improving rural economic conditions to meet the economic, social and cultural needs of Alaska Native village communities.

The corporate structure of Sealaska was partly inherited through the design of congress and partly as a result of Alaska Natives not having a viable alternative. The limitations of a for-profit corporate structure led to the fragmentation of political (Tlingit Haida Central Council), social/cultural (Sealaska Heritage Institute) and economic (Sealaska Corporation) activities into separate individual organisations and a perceived cultural clash between Western capitalist and indigenous cultural values (Anders & Anders, 1987; T. Berger, 1985). The need for Sealaska to demonstrate an alternative approach to economic development resulted in the ‘Values in Action’ initiative, which aims to embed core cultural values into the decision-making processes, activities and culture of the organisation. Cultural experts identified key indigenous cultural concepts to inform organisational practices and activities. These are:

1. Haa Aaní: Our Land;
 2. Haa Shuká: Our Past, Present, Future;
 3. Haa Latseen: Our Strength, Leadership; and
 4. Wooch. Yax: Balance, Reciprocity and Respect
- (Sealaska, 2012).

The Values in Action initiative led to an updated vision statement: ‘An Alaska Native Enterprise of excellence built on our cultural values,’ and a commitment to ‘utilise our Values in Action to increase profitability and build Alaska Native capacity’ (Sealaska, 2012, p. 6). This brought about a refocus on operational profitability, social, cultural and

environmental responsibility, and positioning indigenous cultural values at the centre of the organisation. This reflected a concerted effort on behalf of the organisation to differentiate and reshape itself as a distinct Alaska Native organisation driven by Alaska Native cultural values. Despite many presuming the corporatisation of Alaska Natives would result in their assimilation, Sealaska has shown that the Native communities of the Southeast have chosen not to forgo their cultural identity. Instead, having achieved economic stability, their focus has now turned to creating a distinctly indigenous enterprise to progress collective aspirations for the social, cultural, economic and political advancement of their tribal member shareholders.

Organisational features

Sealaska is one of thirteen regional Alaska Native Corporations established in accordance with ANCSA towards the purposes of protecting and promoting the economic well-being and cultural vitality of Alaska Natives. Sealaska received \$93.2 million; fee title to approximately 362,000 acres of land (surface and subsurface land); and approximately 300,000 acres of subsurface land in Southeast Alaska.¹¹ Sealaska's mission is "to protect and grow our corporate assets to provide economic, cultural and social benefits to current and future generations of our shareholders" (McClanahan & Bissett, 2008, p. 55). Sealaska has nearly 22,000 tribal member shareholders who descend from the three primary Native Alaskan peoples of the Southeast: Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian.

In 2013, Sealaska produced operating revenues of \$165.0 million with total assets valued at \$319.9 million. Sealaska earned \$11.3 million of net income and paid shareholder dividends of \$4.9 million (Sealaska, 2012). Today, Sealaska is the largest private landowner and the largest for-profit private employer in Southeast Alaska. Sealaska has subsidiaries operating throughout the United States, Mexico, Canada and Europe including:

1. Natural Resources – responsible for the management and stewardship of all Sealaska lands including the development, production and sale of natural resources. This division also includes Haa Aaní, which is dedicated to creating sustainable rural communities through regional economic development;

¹¹ 85,000 acres of land remain yet to be conveyed to Sealaska from the 1971 ANCSA settlement. Sealaska are currently promoting a piece of legislation, S.730 *Haa Aaní*, to fulfil Sealaska's land entitlements.

2. Manufacturing – comprised of a contract manufacturer of plastic components based outside of the United States (discontinued in 2013);
3. Services - provides a range of environmental, construction, security and professional services to federal and private agencies. Sealaska’s status as a Minority Business Enterprise and Small Disadvantaged Business strengthens its position as a government contractor and commercial diversity supplier;¹² and
4. Gaming and Other – consists of an investment in a gaming venture with Pomo Indians in Cloverdale, California.

Sealaska also receives passive income from the following sources:

1. Investment income from internally managed portfolio funds; and
2. ANCSA Section 7(i) profit sharing from other Native Alaskan Regional Corporations.¹³

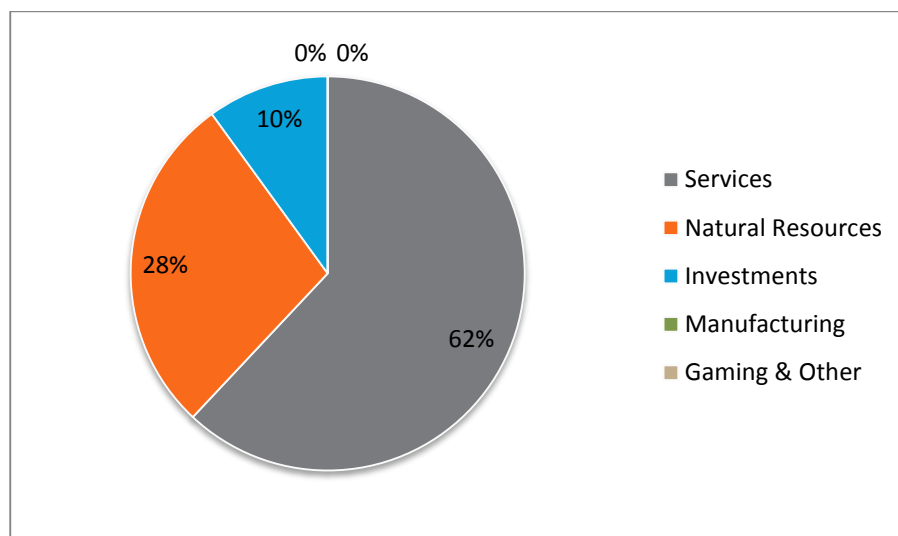


FIGURE 2 SEALASKA 2013 REVENUE BY BUSINESS SECTOR

¹² The Small Business Administration’s 8(a) Programme was created to support small disadvantaged businesses to compete in the American Economy and access the federal procurement market. These provisions were amended to include Alaska Native Corporations to assist them to compete on an equal footing with mainstream American companies (Native 8(a) Works, 2011).

¹³ Section 7(i) requires that each Alaska Native Regional Corporation redistribute seventy percent of revenues gained from specified resources (such as timber and subsurface resources) to other Regional, Village, Urban and At-Large (out of region) Corporations (Sealaska, 2012).

The Sealaska Corporation operates as a holding and investment company and is organised according to US corporate structure rules. Sealaska is managed by a board of tribal directors elected by shareholders. Sealaska employs approximately 500 people across its operations, of whom over 52 percent are tribal shareholders and over 83 percent of staff at the corporate headquarters are tribal shareholders (Sealaska, 2013e).

While Sealaska is a for-profit corporation, Sealaska also supports a range of initiatives to progress broader collective aspirations and address the social and cultural needs of its tribal shareholders.

These include:

1. Sealaska Heritage Institute (SHI) – established in 1980 as Sealaska’s non-profit organisation whose mission is “to perpetuate and enhance the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian cultures” of Southeast Alaska (Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2009, p. 3). SHI develops language, education and culture resources to aid cultural revitalisation in addition to managing scholarship programmes and cultural archives;
2. Elders’ Settlement Trust – created to provide specific economic benefit to the original tribal member shareholders when they reach the age of 65;
3. Distributions – since inception in 1972, Sealaska has distributed \$514.4 million in dividends to tribal member shareholders and through Section 7(i) profit-sharing distributions; and
4. Political Advocacy – as the largest private landowner and for-profit in the region, Sealaska is committed to political advocacy and leveraging its influence for the benefit of its peoples. This also includes political campaigns and supporting the passage of legislation to achieve collective aspirations.

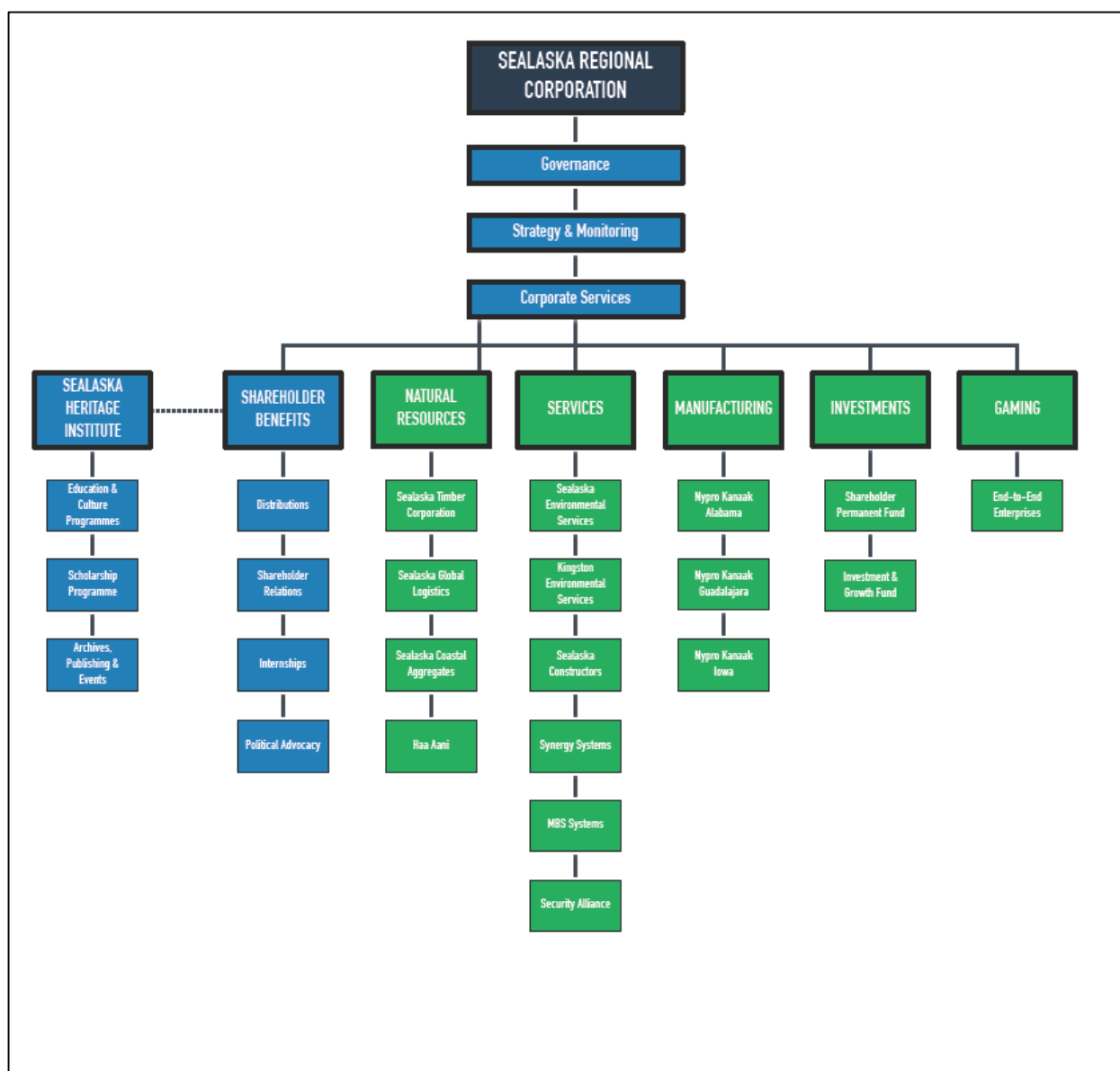


FIGURE 3 SEALASKA ORGNISATIONAL STRUCTURE

Summary

Sealaska is one component of a much broader experiment in United States indigenous policy whereby Congress created for-profit corporations as vehicles to advance Alaska Native prosperity and participation in the mainstream economy. This ‘mainstreaming’ also had an assimilationist agenda by some, but Sealaska has shown that these hopes have not been realised as it has increasingly sought to incorporate tribal cultural values into business practices and activities. Tensions between differing sets of cultural values are evident and

reflect a perceived incompatibility between the economic and cultural/social drivers that ANCs are beholden to. The origins, shareholder makeup, goals and structure of Sealaska is vastly different from most other for-profit corporations in the US and provides insight into a contemporary phenomenon, an indigenous corporation. Sealaska presents an interesting case of a contemporary indigenous organisation seeking to develop an alternative approach to economic development that is grounded in indigenous cultural values and embedded in a corporate organisational framework. Analysis will provide insight into the contemporary realities of Alaska Native institutions created by ANCSA and the challenges indigenous institutions face in developing a newer and more unique sense of organisational character.

Sealaska findings

The research findings emerged from analysis of the data drawn from 15 primary informants. The data from the primary informants was incorporated into the In-vivo analysis and directed analysis relating to the research questions. The 15 primary informants included 9 respondent types. Initial analysis revealed similarities between groups of respondents; indigenous respondents working within the organisation, non-indigenous respondents working within the organisation and external indigenous community leaders and elders. The data from these three respondents groups was each analysed as a cluster. The findings present the emergent themes from analysis of data from these three Sealaska groups; Community and Elders, Indigenous Staff and Non-indigenous Staff.

All participants were eager to engage in the research and very giving of their time and hospitality to the researcher. The participants viewed the researcher as a member of an indigenous community and were equally interested in building their own understandings of the researcher's own cultural context. The generosity of time and the richness of data gathered demonstrated that informants were passionate about the topic and welcomed the opportunity to share their thoughts. The researcher also had to engage informants differently at times depending on their age and status within the community. Interviewing elders and tribal leaders often required greater flexibility and these conversations were freer flowing. This was partly a cultural unwillingness on the researcher's part to interrupt elders and partly the elders themselves having a clear idea of what they wanted to say. These conversations

were generally much longer and provided rich data on the historical and cultural context of the case.

This section presents the summary, or top-level categories that emerged from an inductive qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts of the three respondent groups using grounded theory methods. The following headings are paraphrases taken from the data to preserve the voice of participants with the strongest themes appearing first. Detailed descriptions are provided for each top-level category.

Sealaska community and elders

‘Success is more than just the bottom line’

How Sealaska defines and measures success is evolving and becoming more culturally-nuanced. Initially, attention focused on profits and the distribution of dividend cheques but economic measurements alone failed to capture the broader aspirations within the Native community. The belief that a sole focus on profit would lead to their destruction shifted how success was defined to include the reinvigoration of Native communities and making ‘the culture more alive in the structure’ as this elder has observed over time:

I would say that you know twenty years ago it was very clearly in pursuit of the bottom line and now I feel like they’re carving out you know not only a triple bottom line but maybe even a quadruple bottom line. That to me would be how I would measure success and I think that the corporation itself is trying to turn itself to do that (indigenous community leader).

This cultural shift is evolving and Sealaska is recognised as having ‘turned a corner’ in the last 3-5 years and is ‘heading in the right direction’ by making a concerted effort to celebrate its indigenesness and shift its practices to better align with its Native cultural values. Thus, indigenous cultural values extended definitions of success beyond just monetary measures to include broader social and cultural aspirations.

‘Poured into a container that wasn’t made for us’

Sealaska was created as part of a reluctant settlement process that resulted in Native Alaskan tribes inheriting a Western corporate model as part of a broader agenda to assimilate Alaska

Natives into Western society. A corporate model was not chosen by Native Alaskans; it was just regarded as the best option at that time, but its implementation has created tension and complexity. Central to these tensions is the belief that a corporate model is antithetical to Native Alaskan cultural values and is therefore viewed as a foreign concept.

Being tied to a Western model of organisation has created frustrations for staff who find balancing business and culture a constant struggle. Sealaska is tied to two worlds, one Western and one indigenous, with staff negotiating between the two:

Our communities, our villages and our culture are a whole different world, a different plane of thinking than the commerce world and so I always felt like I had to live in two different worlds and make sure that I kept them in balance (indigenous elder).

The pervasiveness of this model and the economic and legal constraints that go with it have made it difficult to depart from a corporate structure resulting in feelings of resentment at being stuck with a way of organising that was never theirs nor reflects the cultural values and needs of Native communities.

‘Generational differences’

Young people felt frustrated at their perceived inability to contribute to dialogue and decision-making in the affairs of the organisation. A lack of turnover on the board, election processes favouring incumbency, and a high bar to get elected to the board have resulted in low numbers of youth engaging in governance and decision-making. Many felt there was no space for open and constructive dialogue with only a small number contributing to decision-making. This small inner circle was perceived as an ‘old guard’ who feared transparency and opening up the conversation to be more inclusive. The demographic changes were seen as hugely important as increasing numbers of young leaders emerged having benefited from education opportunities and a stronger sense of culture as they were not subject to the racism their elders had to endure. There was acknowledgement that more needed to be done to involve the younger generation in decision-making.

‘A legal fiction of tribalism’

The corporation is a recent phenomenon in comparison to Native tribes and its creation has created tensions with its older parent bodies that have been marginalised to the peripheries of power. The settlement process has created a division between existing Native entities and the

corporation causing a sense of frustration at the perceived inability to work together to advance Native interests:

So even though we've created these entities, ANB, Tlingit Haida, regional corporations Sealaska, the village corporations, our health corporations, our housing authority, you go right down the line, all of those what I call are legal fictions of tribalism. All those entities. Legal fictions of tribalism (indigenous leader).

The divisions and complexity created by the ANCSA settlement are also reflected amongst individuals where corporate distributions have created disparity amongst tribal shareholders. The dividends are not equal and the disparity between generations and different types of shareholders has created 'have and have not's' fostering resentment and dissent against the organisation. Thus, the settlement has created complexity and division amongst Native organisations and its people with growing frustrations at how they are 'not on the same team'.

'A voice for community advancement'

In a Western capitalist society, a corporate structure has proven to be a powerful tool for Native advancement. The Sealaska Regional Corporation represents a concentration in an America comfortable with corporate structures. This concentration of power has enhanced Sealaska's influence and credibility in dealing with structures of power and enabled greater visibility and voice:

I believe that corporations are good tools for us because they give us arguably some economic structure and strength to play in that larger world and thus at least have a dialogue and a relationship with power that allows us to continue to make our aspirations as native peoples (indigenous leader).

There is recognition that Sealaska is a political structure and its corporatisation reflects the pervasiveness of economic power. The corporate also provides an 'incredible tool belt' that can be used as a vehicle for native advancement for the good of the people.

Sealaska indigenous staff

'It's not an easy job'

Working for Sealaska is not an easy job for indigenous staff struggling to meet the diverse expectations of their communities and achieve the right balance between the economic and cultural missions of the organisation. Community expectations are diverse and reflect the nature of 'captive shareholders', where membership is by descent not choice. Central to this tension is the challenge of operating in both Western and indigenous worlds and trying to balance conflicting priorities and needs. The pressure to 'keep everyone happy' and address all of the ills affecting indigenous communities is strategically taxing for the organisation and has resulted in being loaded with expectations that are near impossible for any organisation to meet:

If you think about if you were a leader in an institution that only had one of those things to think about you know it's going to be daunting enough as it is. Think about being in an institution that has all five to deal with, my god you know of course there's you know you have limitations in terms of you know hours in the day and the cash flow towards you know building internal capacity and you know all these other priorities that start coming into the mix and it becomes incredibly difficult (indigenous staff member).

Conflicting goals and diverse expectations contribute to a challenging and politically charged environment for indigenous staff that need to be a 'jack of all trades' and to 'develop a thick skin' to deal with the pressures of the job. The organisation responds by becoming 'fatter' to handle the complexity but this does not make the reality much easier for those indigenous staff struggling to operate in two worlds and 'fix everything' at the same time.

'The new paradigm is values-based'

Sealaska is recognised as having made great progress in grounding itself in its indigenous cultural values. Although the settlement and initial corporate structure were not perfect, the progress made to evolve the structure and 'make it our own' was widely celebrated. Infusing cultural values into the organisation has been intrinsically tied to a broader struggle to revitalise the indigenous culture and as progress has been made this has enabled the organisation to centralise cultural values and use them as a touchstone to support internal cultural shifts within the organisation:

And so you see that reference to the values coming and going throughout our first 42 years. And it's really amazing how to finally have them to where we are, I mean again they've always been part of us but we recognise now that it really needs to be chiselled in stone that for the world to see you know that understanding of where we come from, what drives us in terms of our values, what our aspirational goals or our purpose (indigenous staff member).

This new and more culturally oriented paradigm also permeates how the organisation defines and measures success:

Also it triggers tremendous responsibility when you have that sort of mentality amongst your tribal member shareholder base to you know treat the resources in a very different way to your definitions of success change substantially because their definitions of success are so different from a typical western model (indigenous staff member).

Although there is recognition that more culturally nuanced definitions of success are still dependent on being profitable first, there was tremendous optimism about the new organisational paradigm being based on indigenous cultural values and that the culture was much more present in how the organisation viewed itself and defined its successes.

'No space for dialogue'

Governance was seen to fear sharing information leading to a lack of transparency and space for dialogue regarding the organisations direction. Leadership people were viewed as 'political animals' who served a corporate constituency as much as a tribal one. This highly politicised environment was perceived to lead to politically palatable decision-making that did not support high levels of transparency and accountability.

Transparency to tribal members also brings challenges as it enables competitors to access commercially sensitive material and they recognised the need to balance transparency to tribal shareholders and the need to maintain commercial competitiveness. Increasing focus was placed on opening up dialogue and supporting engagement around the complex and varied challenges facing the organisation:

But where I think we're going to make our greatest strides though, in terms of transparency and in terms of building awareness and having true engagement, is

through not being transparent related to our financials again, we've already achieved that, it's engaging our tribal member base and being fearless in terms of addressing any of their concerns or ideas, you know, being excellent listeners and then communicating exactly what our thought is in terms of how our leaders are dealing with particular issues that are coming up with them (indigenous staff member).

'It's not just an institution, it's a movement'

Sealaska was regarded as a bastion for the indigenous community playing a central role in the revitalisation of indigenous culture and advancing collective aspirations. The mission and responsibilities of the organisation transcend mere fiduciary duty and are expected to advance the broader health and wellbeing of the indigenous culture and its people:

It's not just building of an institution, it's preservation of a culture and communities and a people that have thrived on this land for millennia (indigenous staff member).

The mission to ensure cultural survival is a powerful motivator for staff. Most indigenous staff were raised in an environment where tribal issues were discussed; so working for the organisation became a natural progression to continue a legacy of service to their community and continue the works of their elders. Despite complexities and challenges, many indigenous staff perceive their work to be very rewarding and that employment within the organisation enabled them to connect and contribute to their community and culture:

For the first time in my life, when I came to work at Sealaska, I felt completely grounded to the place I was in. Not just through my own heritage but through the clan structure and the tribal structure. It rooted me completely in this place in a way I've never experienced anywhere else and that's what's, for me so unique and so special about working for Sealaska is the connection to our purpose through the culture (indigenous staff member).

Thus, employment within the organisation can be a deeply rewarding experience for indigenous staff, grounding them in their culture, and actively contributing to progressing indigenous aspirations.

'Need to innovate to survive'

Sealaska exists in a fast changing environment and needs to innovate and keep pace with change if it is to survive. Neither the culture nor the environment were perceived as static; and had experienced great change since the organisations creation. New technologies such as social media also changed the way shareholders interacting, and how they themselves engaged in dialogue regarding Sealaska. Social media created a space for dialogue in a way that could not be controlled by Sealaska, and the organisation was aware of this, and was trying to evolve a stronger presence to utilise technology to communicate with shareholders. For Sealaska to survive long-term, it was recognised that it must innovate to ensure it adapts to changes in its indigenous community, technology, and the wider environment, to reflect the dynamic conditions of modern life.

Sealaska non-indigenous staff

‘Trying to tribalise it’

While Sealaska had inherited a Western business model, there is a desire to transcend this practice, and evolve a new indigenous business model. Over time, the organisation is increasingly influenced by cultural values with an explicit focus on making Western systems indigenous and doing things in a ‘tribal way’. Figuring out how to make the culture alive in the organisation has not been a simple process as there was no clear consensus around what these cultural values were, or how they would be implemented:

I will say to a degree it actually was driven as much by employees and headquarters as well as employees that aren’t in headquarters but down further, saying who are you, what are you about, what are your values and as we tried to define them it was like the joke of the, you know the five blind men feeling an elephant each one describes it differently. Well, we had the same problem (non-indigenous staff member).

The organisation is progressively becoming more orientated with indigenous cultural values rather than capitalist values resulting in a much stronger cultural orientation. This point of difference has changed perceptions within the wider community and enhanced Sealaska’s influence. Similarly, the stronger cultural orientation is personally rewarding for non-indigenous staff who find their job compelling with a strong moral value derived from being part of something greater than themselves.

‘Cognisant of difficulties’

Non-indigenous staff recognise Sealaska has to respond to extra difficulties and challenges because it is an indigenous organisation. It exists in a context with a long history of discrimination against indigenous peoples suppressing the culture and forcing the Native community underground:

That's a very long history there of course. How does an organisation respond to oppression or to legal or laws that are legally discriminatory or educational curriculum that poses problems (non-indigenous staff member).

Cultural loss, language and cultural revitalisation, are huge problems for the indigenous community. These challenges are not made easier by the corporate structure itself, which is seen as adhering to Western notions of economic development. Furthermore, the corporation is not 'free' in the sense that it has numerous obligations, distributing its profits amongst regional, urban and village corporations as well as its own shareholders. Thus, the mission of Sealaska is hugely complex, as it must revitalise the indigenous culture, turning back decades of racial oppression yet also maintain a commercial competitiveness against other corporations who don't have the same burdens.

'Conflicting goals'

There is a clear tension between Western and tribal values. Tribal values are viewed as at odds with the financial responsibilities of the organisation with the potential for higher levels of profit if tribal values were set aside. The organisation must maintain a delicate balance between what are perceived as conflicting goals, profitability and tribal values, for which there is no easy solution:

So they try to make decisions and practices that reflect that; it's a delicate balance of what the corporation is asked to do and sometimes has to do, but it tries to find that balance and that's, of course, a core tribal value, to find that balance in that approach (non-indigenous staff member).

Many of the decisions made by the organisation are not based on financial returns but are values-based and despite some of the tensions and pain this causes, the organisation is learning how to balance and merge these conflicting goals and values.

Similarities across the respondent groups

This section outlines the dominant conceptual themes that emerged across all three of the Sealaska respondent groups; Community and Elders, Indigenous Staff and Non-indigenous Staff. The most dominant conceptual themes are first.

‘Investing in values’

There was strong agreement that the positioning of culture values had become more central to the organisation. Sealaska had ‘turned a corner’ in the past 3-5 years and was ‘moving in the right direction’ as it became more explicit in articulating how cultural values were to influence the organisation, decision-making and measures of success. Values in Action was an explicit initiative to create a touchstone to root the organisation in cultural values and ‘make the culture alive in the structure’:

So in that sense you know, values are now I’d say infused at the molecular level with what we’re doing at Sealaska (indigenous staff member).

Although the corporate structure is viewed as a ‘foreign structure’ there is recognition that there was a conscious effort to instil cultural values within the structure and progressively ‘tribalise’ the structure and ‘make it our own’.

‘Balancing two worlds problematic’

Sealaska exists within two worlds, Western and indigenous and finds balancing the two a constant struggle. Successful economic development is dependent on engaging with a Western economic context, which is an all-powerful culture of itself. However, Sealaska must balance this cultural context with its own tribal cultural values where success is measured by more than ‘just the bottom line’ and is inclusive of the collective social and cultural aspirations of tribal shareholders. This fundamental dichotomy between conflicting goals and cultural values creates tension within the organisation and the wider tribal community and is someone that is ‘wrestled with every day’:

So they try to make decisions and practices that reflect that, it’s a delicate balance of what the corporation is asked to do and sometimes has to do, but it tries to find that balance and that’s, of course, a core tribal value, to find that balance in that approach (non-indigenous staff member).

Tribal social and cultural development is dependent on profitability demonstrating how Sealaska has both an economic and a socio/cultural mission. Success for Sealaska is dependent on finding the right balance between these two opposing missions, which force to engage in worlds with at times contrasting values.

‘We didn’t chose this model’

ANCSA is seen as flawed process that has added to the complexities and tensions that Sealaska faces today. Sealaska’s corporate structure is seen as the child of a reluctant ‘mercenary process’ driven by the political circumstances of the time rather than the ‘goodness of anybody’s heart’:

It was a very reluctant settlement from the perspective of most public policy and thought leaders and economic leaders in Alaska was not embraced by any stretch of the imagination. So was it an assimilationist settlement (indigenous leader).

There are strong feelings of resentment with the settlement process and the perceived coerced adoption of a corporate model. Corporations are seen as a foreign concept, reflecting Western cultural values, antithetical to indigenous cultural values and thereby totally unsuitable as a vehicle to carry indigenous aspirations forward. The legal, political and economic restrictions that are attached to a corporate model are seen to have constrained indigenous cultural values and created further complexity and tension.

Differences between the respondent groups

This section outlines the dominant differences and contrasts in conceptual themes between the three Sealaska respondent groups; Community and Elders, Indigenous Staff and Non-indigenous Staff. The strongest differences are first.

‘It’s hard dealing with tensions and conflicts’

Both indigenous and non-indigenous staff recognise there are clear tensions working within Sealaska and ‘it is not an easy job’, however, the difference lie in how these tensions are perceived. Both indigenous, and non-indigenous staff, find working for Sealaska rewarding. Indigenous staff are often ‘born into it,’ having grown up in a family involved in tribal affairs so working for Sealaska is a natural progression and grounds them in their tribal community. Non-indigenous staff find a strong moral component to working for Sealaska and develop an affinity of wanting to belong but also recognise they are ‘observers’. The differences become

more evident when dealing with tensions as non-indigenous staff externalise conflict, whereas indigenous staff internalise tensions adding to the stress and pressures placed upon them.

Whilst non-indigenous staff recognise the difficulties and tensions facing the organisation, they are accepted as part of the context the organisation operates within. For indigenous staff, whose identities are closely tied with the tribe and the organisation, these conflicts are personalised and create great stress:

...this is almost like my family, you know. And so when they're attacking any one of us it's just, you just feel it so, yep (indigenous staff member).

Criticism and conflicts within the organisation are internalised by indigenous staff to the extent that these tensions leave them feeling they need to 'develop a thick skin' to survive, while at the same time, suppressing feelings of being unappreciated. With such close ties between indigenous staff and the organisation, the pressures and conflicts of the organisation become the stresses of individual indigenous staff members who experience much higher levels of both stress and distress at conflict and criticism.

'Corporations have an incredible tool belt'

Only elders and leaders who were involved in the settlement process spoke of the positive aspects of a corporate structure. Corporations were perceived to centralise power and, whilst they may not have been grounded in indigenous cultural values, they are recognised by the colonial power culture. Adoption of a corporate structure was recognition of the realities of economic power within a Western society. Utilising a corporate model created distinct advantages for tribal political powers as it gave the indigenous community voice and enabled a dialogue with Western powers:

I believe that corporations are good tools for us because they give us arguably some economic structure and strength to play in that larger world and thus at least have a dialogue and a relationship with power that allows us to continue to make our aspirations as native peoples (indigenous leader).

Thus despite heavy criticism from staff regarding the adoption of a corporate model, tribal leaders recognised the political advantages of a corporate structure and how it could be used as a tool for communal advancement.

‘Generational differences creating tensions’

Younger indigenous respondents highlighted significant generational differences that were contributing to inter-generational tensions. Like any culture, the younger generation viewed the world in a different way but these generational differences were magnified by the indigenous youth having experienced greater cultural and educational opportunities as a result of ANCSA:

I think some of the greatest tensions are generational or stem from generational differences (indigenous staff member).

Emerging leaders felt frustrated by leadership whom they felt would not support them into senior management roles or step down to allow them to engage at a governance level. Young staff describe the situation as a ‘generational grind’ where the organisation and leadership are slow or reluctant to support a ‘changing of the guard’ as the organisation reaches maturity and deals with succession from a founding generation to younger emerging leaders:

So internal you have the intergenerational native leadership issues, you have the intergenerational succession of leadership issues, you have the intergenerational prioritisation of goals and aspirations (young indigenous staff member).

These tensions are further aggravated by greater share dividends for elders with the lower financial benefits supporting youth, prioritising collective cultural aspirations instead of individual financial benefits.

‘Tribes flung off into the ether’

Only elders raised the need to resolve the role of tribes. Sealaska is regarded as a recent phenomenon with its parent bodies (The Tlingit Haida Tribal Council and The Alaska Native Brotherhood) having a much longer history. ANCSA created new corporate structures that did not incorporate existing models of tribal organisation or governance, resulting in tribal activity being fractured along economic, cultural, and political lines. The Tlingit Haida Central Council but was marginalised through the settlement process and the multitude of

Native organisation cast apart by ANCSA have yet to come together and ‘be on the same team’:

And you know, again it’s like barriers set up to keep us from working together when you have these prejudices against each other but when you know we have a prejudice against each but each other is us (indigenous community leader).

All of these created entities are described as ‘legal fictions of tribalism’ in that they have all been imposed upon the clans and tribes and all have been found to be deficient in capturing the essence and servicing the needs of tribe and clan. Thus where staff were focused on Sealaska, tribal elders looked at the broader environment of tribal organisation and sought a way to unify a community divided through settlement.

Summary

This chapter, the first of three case studies, focused on the Sealaska Regional Corporation. This chapter began with a description of the case, outlining the historical and cultural context of the case, to situation the case and the findings within the cultural context of the research setting. The chapter concluded with a description of the key findings and theoretical concepts that emerged from the detailed inductive qualitative analysis of the transcripts of primary informants using grounded theory methods. The next chapters focused on the second case study, Kamehameha Schools.

Chapter 5: Kamehameha Schools

This chapter, the second of three case studies, focuses on the case of Kamehameha Schools of Hawai‘i. The chapter has two sections. The first section provides a description of the case and situates the case within its historical and cultural context. The research involved immersion in an indigenous cultural context. As an outsider, the researcher had to gain knowledge of the cultural values that underpinned a Native Hawaiian worldview to situate the research within its own cultural context. This is achieved through the case description. It is derived from the analysis of documentation from the organisation, field notes, literature, and interviews with 13 secondary informants. The second section outlines the key findings and theoretical concepts that emerged from the data. These findings are derived from the inductive qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts of 15 primary informants using grounded theory methods.

Kamehameha Schools case description

Introduction

Kamehameha Schools is the largest of the Hawaiian Ali‘i (royal) trusts, founded in 1887 under the codicils of the will of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the last remaining descendant of King Kamehameha the I, and thereby the Royal House of Kamehameha. The lands legacy of the Hawaiian monarchy ensured the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate became Hawai‘i largest private land owner, enabling the estate to establish the Kamehameha Schools to carry out her vision to ‘create educational opportunities in perpetuity to improve the capability and well-being of people of Hawaiian ancestry’ (Kamehameha Schools, 2000). Today, Kamehameha Schools is one of the largest private charitable trusts in the world with an overall fair value of \$10.1 billion and spent \$362 million in 2013 funding campus-based and community-based educational programmes servicing 47,500 Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians).

Historical context

The Hawaiian Islands were settled by Polynesian explorers who had traversed the expanses of the Pacific in large double-hulled voyaging canoes. Over several thousand years a distinct and complex Hawaiian culture evolved that included a centralised monarchy, a political bureaucracy, and a highly ordered social system including kahuna (priests), mo'i (kings), ali'i (nobles), konohiki (overseers) and maka'ainana (commoners) (Sai, 2008). Land was subdivided into sections called ahupua'a; extending from a mountain to the shoreline and beyond. Each ahupua'a was ruled by an ali'i and administered by a konohiki with the maka'ainana cultivating numerous crops stemming from the cooler forest highlands down to the lowland cultivations and fisheries. The primary crop was kalo (taro) grown in sophisticated irrigated systems as well as kalo, uala (sweet potato) and yams in rain-fed systems and niu (coconuts), 'ulu (breadfruit), mai'a (bananas) and ko (sugarcane) in dry land cultivations. The konohiki managed all of the natural assets in the ahupua'a, which were so diverse they could meet all of the needs of its residents as well as taxes to support the ruling ali'i. Thus the ahupua'a mapped the division of land, economy and society in Hawai'i.

The remoteness of the Hawaiian Islands ensured they remained largely undisturbed until the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. Although introduced disease, religion and technologies challenged the established way of life, the greatest changes to Hawaiian life came from the new emerging power, King Kamehameha the Great. After unifying the island kingdom of Hawai'i in 1791, the successful conquest of Maui in 1795 and the cession of Kaua'i in 1810 Kamehameha I, had succeeded in consolidating three island kingdoms under a centralised monarchy, adopting its own flag, and the name; the Kingdom of the Sandwich Islands (Sai, 2008).

Kamehameha had strong ties with the British, and once he had consolidated his position, with help from his trusted British advisors, began incorporated aspects of English customs of governance in establishing the government of the Sandwich Islands (Sai, 2008). He created a two-tier system, with a strong centralised government, driven by British principles of governance and headed by the King, Prime Minister and Governors, with traditional laws and leadership structures presiding over the regions (Sai, 2008). This practice was overthrown by his son and successor Kamehameha II, who in 1819 abolished the kapu (taboo) system, whose religious laws were indistinguishable from traditional forms of governance, and later supplanted by religious principles brought by the arrival of Christian missionaries.

By 1843, Kamehameha III secured international recognition of the autonomy of the Hawaiian Islands, transitioning from a feudal autocracy to the first Polynesian nation recognised as a sovereign state and entering into diplomatic relationships and treaties with many nations (Sai, 2008). In 1840, King Kamehameha III enacts the first constitution for the Kingdom of Hawai‘i incorporating a Western governmental and judicial system. Following a short occupation by the British Navy, and under pressure from increasing foreign numbers and demands for land, King Kamehameha III enacts the ‘Great Mahele’ or land division act of 1848, seeking to fee simple ownership and apportion Kingdom lands equally amongst the King, konohiki (overseers) and maka‘ainana (commoners). In reality, little land was transferred to the common people but the lands set aside for the King established the Crown and Government lands held in perpetuity for the benefit of the Hawaiian people. The freehold life estates allocated to the chiefs and konohiki were able to be converted into a fee-simple, marking the end of the feudal state of land tenure, creating the foundations for free enterprise and a new political economy.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i came under increasing pressure from US military, and diplomatic interests in collusion with local sugar plantation owners (Goodyear-Ka’opua, 2005). In 1887, King Kalakaua was forced under threat of violence to sign a new constitution by a group of largely foreign nationals calling themselves the Hawaiian League. The league sought control of the government to further their economic interests and its constitution, dubbed the ‘Bayonet Constitution’, reduced to powers of the monarchy to merely ceremonial roles and replaced the Cabinet with league members whose allegiances were to themselves and foreign interests (Sai, 2008). King Kalakaua died in 1891 and was succeeded by his sister, Queen Lili‘uokalani, who sought to reinstate the lawful constitution. This prompted the same group of mainly American businessmen to advocate annexation to the United States in order to maintain their economic and political hold over the Kingdom. They petition US Minister to Hawai‘i, John L. Stevens, who in 1893, orders United States Marines to occupy Hawai‘i and aid the annexationists. They take control of the government, abolish the monarchy, and establish a provisional government until annexation with the United States. Then, President Grover Cleveland withdraws the treaty of annexation due to the unlawful actions against a friendly state, but the Treaty is signed in 1897 by President William McKinley thereby ceding sovereignty to the United States. A territorial government is established in the 1900 Organic Act, before finally, the statehood in 1959,

ending a tumultuous period where Hawai‘i had gone from chiefdom to kingdom, to republic to territory, to state (King & Roth, 2006).

During the nineteenth century, Hawaiians were also left devastated by rampant diseases that arrived with the haole (Caucasian) sailors. Ali‘i (nobles) and maka‘ainana (commoners) alike fell to successive waves of syphilis, gonorrhoea, tuberculosis, cholera, measles, influenza, and small pox. Early Westerner’s estimates of the Native Hawaiian population in 1778 average around 300,000, but the census counted 124,000 in 1831, 87,000 in 1849, and 71,000 in 1855 (King & Roth, 2006). By the end of the reign of King Kamehameha the V, the once thriving population of Native Hawaiians dwindled to just 40,000, yet foreigners numbered 40,500 (Kanahele, 2002). The ali‘i were equally afflicted by foreign disease with many dying without heirs and consolidating the large parcels of land received in the Great Mahele with the remaining few survivors.

These lands came to be known as the Kamehameha lands, the dynasty passed down from Kamehameha the Great himself and, on the of the death reigning monarch Ruth Ke‘elikōlani in 1883, were gifted to her cousin Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop. The great granddaughter of the Great King Kamehameha, Pauahi had been educated in the Royal School run by Protestant Missionaries and was equally at ease in Native Hawaiian and Western worlds. Although initially betrothed to Prince Lot Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V), Pauahi broke custom and married haole businessman Charles Reed Bishop. Pauahi inheriting 353,000 acres of land transformed her into the largest landowner and richest woman in Hawai‘i (Kanahele, 2002).

By 1883, the social, cultural, economic, and political fabric of the once independent Kingdom was rapidly unravelling. The ali‘i were virtually childless so several established ali‘i endowment trusts to use their lands and resources to support the perpetuation of the Hawaiian people and culture. With no children of her own, Pauahi believed education to be the key to the prosperity of her people and in 1883, signed her own will committing the sacred legacy of Kamehameha to an educational mission. In October 1884, only seventeen months after inheriting the royal ‘āina (lands), Pauahi died at the age of fifty-two with the bulk of the estate going into a charitable trust to pursue Pauahi’s educational mission and erect the Kamehameha Schools.

Establishing the organisation

Kamehameha Schools was founded through the will of the last living member of the House of Kamehameha, Bernice Pauahi Bishop to address the social ills plaguing Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) in the late 19th century. The bulk of the Kamehameha estate, 378,569 acres, went in trust to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate naming her American husband Charles Reed Bishop, Samuel Mills Damon, William Owen Smith, Charles Montague Cooke and Charles McEwen Hyde as trustees. In the will, they were instructed to prudently manage the estate and pursue the charitable mission to establish the Kamehameha Schools. Pauahi's mission was outlined in article 13 of her will: "to erect and maintain in the Hawaiian Islands two schools, one for boys and one for girls, to be known as, and called Kamehameha Schools" (as cited in King & Roth, 2006, p. 31). The trustees were also instructed to devote a portion of income to support and educate orphans and others in indignant circumstances. The will granted broad powers to trustees who were to determine the character of the education provided, and the management of the endowment.

Led by Pauahi's husband Charles R. Bishop, the trustees were all Protestant haole businessmen, who were part of a broader power elite of Protestant Missionaries and sugar plantation owners, who overthrew the Hawaiian Monarchy and campaigned for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2005). The Kamehameha School for Boys opened in 1887, and the Kamehameha School for Girls in 1894. Both schools were staffed and administered by haole sourced from the American mainland to train students to be productive blue collar and civil service workers with strong Christian values. Despite Charles Bishop's genuine affection for Kanaka Maoli, at the time, it was a widely held belief that the only way for Hawaiians to survive was to abandon their culture and Americanise. Led by haole annexationists, it was inevitable the Kamehameha Schools would reflect the dominant thinking of their time, where the further a Hawaiian was from their culture, the better off they would be (King & Roth, 2006). One of the first orders the first Principal Reverend William Brewster Oleson gave was to ban the Hawaiian language. The trustees wanted workers, not leaders, and a generation after founding the stated policy was still "to avoid all work that might arouse their ambitions towards the professions"(as cited in King & Roth, 2006, p. 42).

Historically the estate itself was always huge but it was largely land rich and cash poor. This changed upon statehood in 1959 when mass tourism and military expansion became major

economic drivers causing a real estate boom. As the largest private landholder in Hawai‘i, the Bishop Estate found itself at the heart of one of the fastest growing property markets in the world. Profits soared prompting the trustees to re-evaluate its mission. An American consulting firm, Booz, Allen and Hamilton were contracted to set a new direction for both the education and endowment divisions of Kamehameha Schools. They submitted their report in 1961, which predicted the economic growth resulting from American statehood on Hawai‘i and the rapid assimilation of Hawaiians into American culture. The report recommended Kamehameha Schools adopt a highly selective admissions process to promote academic excellence in order to become an elite college prep school. Furthermore, a range of outreach programmes would be delivered to service the needs of children not able to gain admission (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2005; King & Roth, 2006). The new strategy also succeeded in sowing the seeds of its own revolution as this new class of Kanaka Maoli leaders and professionals began to challenge the tenets of Pauahi's will which had remained largely unchanged.

Kamehameha Schools was founded by Pauahi's will, written during a time when many Hawaiians believed assimilation to Western ways was essential for survival, even if it meant giving up their own language and culture. Yet the Schools' successes' supporting more Kanaka Maoli into higher education and leadership also created a critical mass of dissenting voices towards the end of the 20th century that began to challenge the established philosophy behind the Schools and estate. Despite the assimilationist vision outlined in the Booz report, an increasing number of alumni used their talents to promote a Hawaiian cultural agenda, also spurred on by a wider cultural renaissance in the 1970s. Pressure from Hawaiian staff and alumni, as well as external pressure linked with Hawaiian land, language and sovereignty movements, converged with other events at the end of the 1990s, to force a major re-visioning of Kamehameha. Faculty, staff and alumni began publicly expressing concerns regarding the trustees mismanagement of the Schools and estate (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2005). Complaints regarding the trustees' compensation, policies, micro-management and abusive behaviour prompted outrage in the Hawaiian community and eventually resulted in their removal from office (Hannahs, 2012). The following strategic planning process invited open participation from a broad range of Kanaka Maoli stakeholders and the resulting 'Kamehameha Schools Strategic Plan 2000-2015' promised to realign itself to the strong Hawaiian and Christian values of Pauahi. The strategy marked a major cultural shift as the

strategy sought to bring Hawaiian culture to the core of both the education and endowment arms of Kamehameha Schools.

Evolution of the organisation

The leadership crisis of the mid 90s was to have a profound effect on the direction, values, and organisation of Kamehameha Schools. Driven by a strategy of economic maximisation, income from commercial leases and the sale of residential leaseholds enabled Kamehameha Schools to branch into sizeable investments in global financial markets. By the 1990s, Kamehameha Schools was the biggest private charitable trust in the world and a flagship institution for the State of Hawai'i. For the first time, all five trustees and the president were Hawaiian, as well as a Hawaiian State Governor and Chief Justice. Hawaiians had never been stronger and Kamehameha Schools had unprecedented political influence (Daws & Na Leo o Kamehameha, 2009). Yet this wealth also led to a number of groups and individuals seeking to influence the direction of the institution.

A politically charged appointment process led to all Bishop Estate trustees being political insiders with close ties to the Governor and the establishment. In the 1990s, the trustees changed the governance structure by appointing lead trustees to manage the education and endowment arms heavily involving trustees in the day-to-day operations and decision-making (Hannahs, 2012). Trustee's excessive compensation, micromanagement, and self-serving behaviour prompted staff to unionise, the community to form a watchdog group and led to widespread community protests. With increasing internal and external criticism of trustee corruption, the controversy was brought to a head in 1997 by the 'Broken Trust' essay written by five highly respected community leaders (including four senior Hawaiian leaders), calling on the State Attorney General to investigate trustee mismanagement and breaches of fiduciary duty. The investigations were damning of the trustees whose cronyism, conflicts of interest and political backhanders resulted in the Internal Revenue Service threatening to take away the estate's tax-exempt status, a move that would have been disastrous for both School and estate (Daws & Na Leo o Kamehameha, 2009). Eventually, the trustees were removed from office and replaced by an interim board appointed by the Hawai'i Probate Court.

The interim board were tasked with developing a strategic plan with stakeholder input, adopting a new governance model focusing trustees on policy not operations, appointing a chief executive officer, shedding bad investments and developing investment, spending and

due diligence policies (Hannahs, 2012). The strategic plan became an inclusive process for the lāhui¹⁴ to realign both the Schools and the estate to the vision of Pauahi. Strong calls for strengthening the influence of Hawaiian culture within the institution were encapsulated in the Kamehameha Schools Strategic Plan, 2000-2015, which stated that Kamehameha Schools will cultivate, nurture, perpetuate, and practice ‘Ike Hawai‘i¹⁵ and will mālama i ka ‘āina.¹⁶ Thus, the strategic plan became a rallying point for Kanaka Maoli to meaningfully input into a more culturally nuanced direction for the institution, and from the institution’s side, to piece itself back together after fracturing under dysfunctional leadership. Furthermore, the strategic plan enabled the intended beneficiaries of the will of Pauahi, for the first time, to determine the direction of the most powerful Native Hawaiian institution and articulate their resolve to transition from a school for Hawaiians into a Hawaiian school.

Progressing the vision of a Hawaiian institution practising ‘Ike Hawai‘i and mālama i ka ‘āina has not been without its challenges. Following the trustee scandal, higher levels of regulatory compliance were imposed on the organisation by the Internal Revenue Service. A court-appointed master and trust law created difficulties for the estate with its large holdings of lands (including many sacred sites) and pressure to sell lands to diversify the endowment's holdings portfolio. With a lack of federal recognition and protections for Native Hawaiians, Kamehameha Schools was also vulnerable to a challenge from anti-Hawaiian interests claiming Hawaiian-only programmes were racially discriminatory (Goodyear-Ka’opua, 2005). Following legal challenges to the Hawaiian-only elections of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Kamehameha Schools were sued in 2003 by a haole parent claiming the Hawaiians-only admissions policy was racially discriminatory against her haole son. The desire for Kamehameha Schools to evolve into a more culturally grounded institution faced heavy external compliance and legal challenges, but changing the internal culture of such a large institution came with its own challenges.

Turning the highly aspirational goals of the strategic plan into a reality has not been easy for the institution. The move to transition from a Western school for Hawaiians into a Hawaiian school, still had to contend with policies and practices determined by federal and state laws,

¹⁴ Hawaiian community.

¹⁵ Hawaiian culture and values.

¹⁶ Practice culturally appropriate stewardship of lands.

and a mainly haole workforce struggling to come to terms with changes in the institutional identity. To support Kamehameha Schools' transition to becoming a more Hawaiian institution, the Hui Ho'ohawai'i assembly of Hawaiian cultural educators held a retreat in 2004, entitled 'He Huliau—Shifting Paradigms: Imperatives for Hawaiian Cultural Survival' (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2005). The group's advocacy resulted in a Hawaiian Cultural Vibrancy policy being adopted by the institution in 2009 reaffirming Hawaiian culture as central to the mission of Kamehameha Schools. A Hawaiian cultural centre—Ka'iwakīloumoku—was built on the Kapālama campus, and the Ho'okahua office for Hawaiian cultural development was established to promote Hawaiian cultural vibrancy within the institution.

Change also occurred within the endowment arm of the organisation with 'āina mole¹⁷ being separated from the Commercial Real Estate Division to be managed by a Land Assets Division (LAD). This division developed an integrated management strategy, seeking to balance economic, educational, cultural, and stewardship returns from 'āina mole to create thriving Hawaiian communities. Focused on building communities rather than subdivisions, the LAD became a space within the institution, which has attempted to better balance commercial and cultural priorities. Over the last 125 years, Kamehameha Schools evolved from a cash-poor vocational training institution run by haole, into one of the most powerful indigenous institutions in the world, certainly the most influential in Hawai'i, and has become a major force for the preservation and on-going vibrancy of Hawaiian culture. Despite its many challenges, the place of Hawaiian culture and values has grown more central over the past decades, as Kanaka Maoli have chosen to evolve how the legacy of Ke Ali'i Pauahi can be best utilised for the furtherance of her mission to grow the capability and well-being of people of Hawaiian ancestry in perpetuity.

Organisational features

Kamehameha Schools is one of the largest charitable trusts in the world, and the largest of the Hawaiian ali'i (royal) trusts endowed by the will of the last direct descendant of the House of Kamehameha, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Pauahi gifted 375,000 acres to found Kamehameha Schools, to pursue her vision to support the education of people of Hawaiian ancestry, grounded in Christian and Hawaiian values, to achieve their highest potential as good and industrious men and women. Kamehameha Schools is governed by five trustees

¹⁷ Culturally significant land holdings.

who may serve two five-year terms and are appointed by The Probate Court. The mission of Kamehameha Schools is to ‘fulfil Pauahi’s desire to create educational opportunities in perpetuity to improve the capability and well-being of people of Hawaiian ancestry’ (Kamehameha Schools, 2000). The Kamehameha Schools Strategic Plan 2000-2015 outlines seven strategic goals to guide the organisation:

1. Kamehameha Schools will provide and facilitate a wide range of integrated quality educational programs and services to serve more people of Hawaiian ancestry.
2. Kamehameha Schools will work with families and communities in their efforts to meet the educational needs of people of Hawaiian ancestry.
3. Kamehameha Schools will cultivate, nurture, perpetuate, and practice ‘Ike Hawai‘i (which includes Hawaiian culture, values, history, language, oral traditions, literature, and wahi pana – significant cultural or historical places – etc.).
4. Kamehameha Schools will foster the development of leaders who focus on service to others.
5. Kamehameha Schools will optimise the value and use of current financial and nonfinancial resources and actively seek and develop new resources.
6. Kamehameha Schools will ma‘alama i ka ‘āina: practice ethical, prudent and culturally appropriate stewardship of lands and resources.
7. Kamehameha Schools will continue to develop as a dynamic, nurturing, learning community.

In 2013, the value of the Kamehameha Schools endowment was \$10.1 billion enabling the institution to spend \$362 million on its campus and community-based education programmes serving over 47,500 Kanaka Maoli. Kamehameha School’s educational programmes are funded by its endowment arm, which spends approximately 4 percent of the endowment’s value (averaged over five years), to determine a sustainable rate of financial support. The endowment includes a global financial assets portfolio worth \$6.6 billion, and Hawai‘i commercial real estate representing \$3.5 billion at fair value.

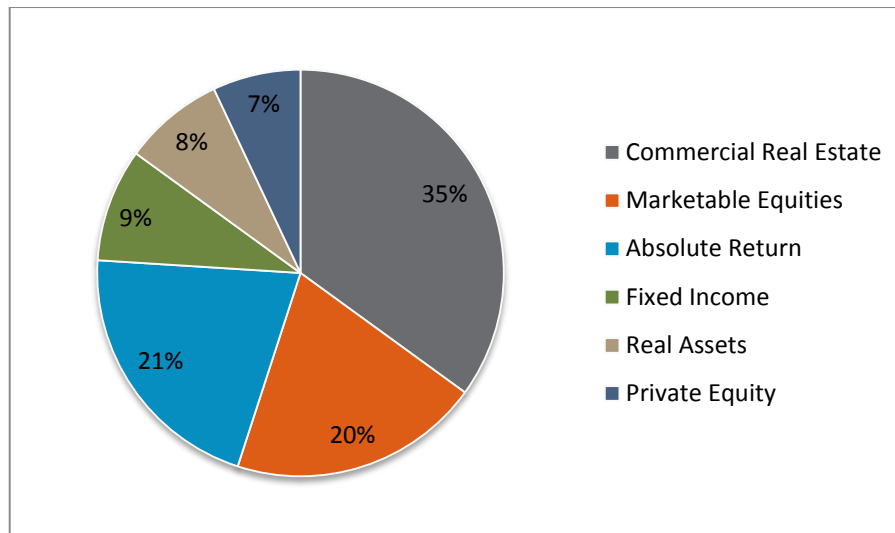


FIGURE 4 KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS 2013 ENDOWMENT

Kamehameha Schools owns 363,603 acres of land of which only 1 percent (5,122 acres) is zoned commercial and managed by the Commercial Real Estate Division. The remaining 99 percent of agricultural and conservation lands form a separate sustainability asset class referred to as ‘Āina Mole (lands that create an ancestral taproot). These assets are managed by the Land Assets Division who follow an integrated management strategy seeking to balance economic, educational, cultural and stewardship returns from ‘Āina Mole (Hannahs, 2012).

For the year ending June 30, 2013, Kamehameha Schools spent \$362 million on its campus and community-based education programmes serving a total of 47,500 Kanaka Maoli learners. The education arm is split into two divisions; one managing the Kamehameha Schools campuses, and the other the multitude of community-based programmes. The institution spent \$168 million running three kindergartens through grade 12 campuses at Kapālama (Honolulu), Maui and Hawai‘i serving 5,392 learners. A further \$110 million was spent on a wide array of community-based outreach programmes delivered by Kamehameha Schools and through partnerships with other community organisations (Kamehameha Schools, 2013). These include programmes supporting Hawaiian early childhood centres, charter schools, community-based service initiatives, place-based learning initiatives, curriculum development, and tertiary scholarships (Hannahs, 2012).

The Ho'okahua Hawaiian Cultural Development Office was established to integrate Hawaiian culture and language within the workplace, and to drive organisation-wide cultural policies promoting 'ike Hawai'i,¹⁸ 'ōlelo Hawai'i¹⁹ and nohona Hawai'i.²⁰ A cultural centre, Ka'iwakīloumoku, was built on its Kapālama campus, and a broad range of professional development opportunities are offered to grow the cultural competence of staff and educators.

¹⁸ Hawaiian knowledge.

¹⁹ Hawaiian language.

²⁰ A Hawaiian way of life.

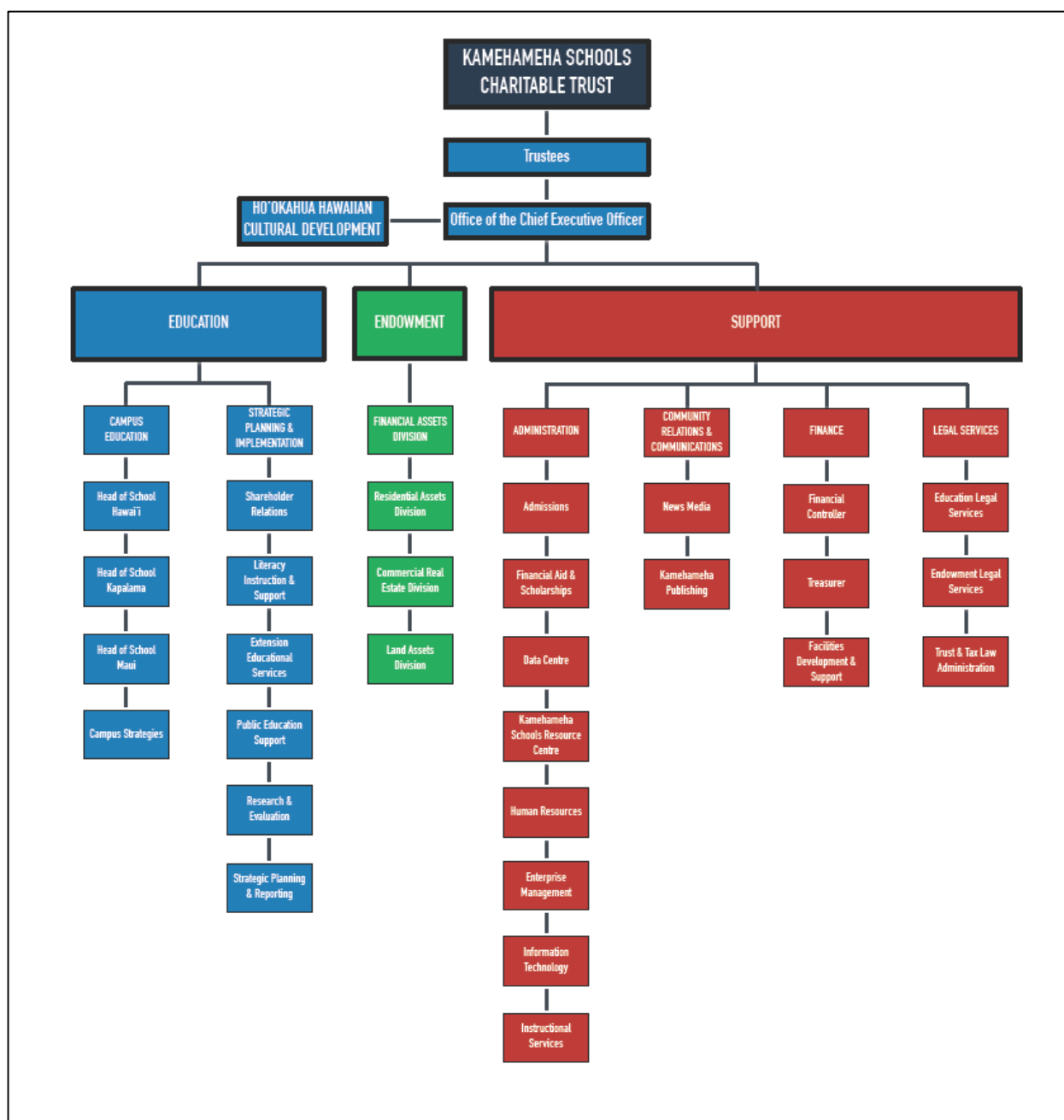


Figure 5 Kamehameha Schools Organisational Structure

Summary

Kamehameha Schools is unique in both its scale and its origins. As the living legacy of Ke Ali'i Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the last of the Royal House of Kamehameha, the institution itself is a powerful symbol of Hawaiian identity and pride. Kamehameha Schools is both a reminder of what was once a strong and independent indigenous state, and as the largest Ali'i

trust and indigenous institution in Hawai‘i; it has a critical role to play in advancing the future aspirations of Kanaka Maoli. The institution’s power and influence has also resulted in external interests seeking to control both the endowment and the schools. Kamehameha Schools has progressively evolved over the past 125 years from being a tool of assimilation to becoming an instrument to grow Hawaiian culture and a new generation of indigenous leadership. These leaders have reclaimed control of the direction of the organisation, realigned it to the values of its founder, yet also evolving its purpose to better fit the contexts and challenges facing Kanaka Maoli today. It has evolved from a cash-poor assimilationist vocational college led by haole to become one of the most economically, politically, educationally and culturally powerful indigenous institutions in Hawai‘i and the world. Its large scale gives it power and influence but also creates difficulties in embedding Hawaiian culture throughout the organisation. It is clear Kamehameha Schools has committed itself to ensuring the continued vibrancy of Hawaiian culture and is undertaking a range of initiatives to achieve this goal. Thus, Kamehameha Schools has been transitioning from a school for Hawaiians into seeking to become a Hawaiian school with its institution grounded in indigenous cultural values and the values of its founder Ke Ali‘i Bernice Pauahi Bishop.

Kamehameha schools findings

The research findings emerged from analysis of the data drawn from 15 primary informants. The data from the primary informants was incorporated into the In-vivo analysis and directed analysis relating to the research questions. The 15 primary informants included 9 respondent types. The data from these three respondents groups was each analysed as a cluster. The findings present the emergent themes from analysis of data from these three Kamehameha Schools groups; Community and Elders, Indigenous Staff and Non-indigenous Staff.

All participants were eager to engage in the research. Kamehameha Schools and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu had an existing relationship and most participants had visited Aotearoa²¹ and therefore had prior knowledge of Māori tribal organisations. This existing connection between both groups assisted the researcher and positioned the research as an extension of mutually beneficial collaboration between two indigenous partners.

Participants approached the research with open eagerness to share their views and contribute to generating knowledge concerning indigenous organisations. Interviews always included discussion where the researcher would reciprocate with discussion on their own cultural and organisational context, which also opened up further avenues of conversation for analysis. The researcher was positioned as an indigenous researcher from a kindred organisation facing similar challenges, a factor which contributed to participant's willingness to contribute and engage in the research.

As a non-tribal organisation, the nature of connection between the informants and Kamehameha Schools was normally based on them either being a former student, a staff member, or a member of an affiliated partner organisation. The Kamehameha alumni external to the organisation often did not have a deep understanding of the current activities of the organisation, which created some difficulties but was also evidence in itself of the bearing of the nature of membership or connection.

This section presents the summary or top-level categories that emerged from an inductive qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts of the three respondent groups, using grounded theory methods. The following headings are paraphrases taken from the data to

²¹ New Zealand.

preserve the voice of participants with the strongest themes appearing first. Detailed descriptions are provided for each top-level category.

Kamehameha schools community and elders

'Keeping the institution in a box'

Kamehameha Schools has been a victim of its own success with external interests seeking to control its destiny and maintain the status quo. There is a perceived culture of compliance where staff are encouraged to 'stay in line', and new ideas or departures from tradition are discouraged. Challenging the status quo and creating a new culturally nuanced paradigm has met both internal and external resistance, which was likened to 'dragging the organisation into the 21st century':

...other power players within Hawaii are really, have tried their best to keep the institution in a box and in a place so that Hawaiian people and the owner of 10% of the lands of Hawaii doesn't wake up (indigenous community leader).

As part of this, the organisation has historically been 'out of touch' with the wider Hawaiian community and struggled to rid itself of a 'colonial hangover'. This has created a stifling environment for advocates of change and strong feelings that the organisation is missing transparency and engagement with the Native Hawaiian community:

I think there are good people trying but I also think that there are people in key positions that are either happy the way that it is or are trying but their expectation because they're in such an insular, insulated organisation that they're like completely out of touch about how much that change is really having any kind of ripple outside (indigenous community leader).

The size, bureaucracy and slow rate of change are at odds with a fast growing population contributing to the belief the organisation is not keeping pace with both the growth and aspirations of its indigenous community.

'Difficult keeping balance'

As Kamehameha Schools grows in riches and power, external interests seek to exert influence as it is seen as ‘too rich to let get native’. The trustee selection process is perceived as appointing mostly ‘hard core business people’ to governance roles. The lack of a strong cultural voice at the top creates further challenges for the organisation to balance cultural values with the realities of operating in a dominating Western economic context:

So it’s a dilemma. I mean how do you stay true to your values when you have to act in un-Hawaiian ways to meet your opponent say. But then you forget perhaps where you came from and how you should behave when it all clears (indigenous community leader).

Trying to constantly balance these two contrasting paradigms creates tensions within the organisation as it tries to negotiate the constraints of probate law and fiduciary responsibilities whilst also trying to stay true to indigenous cultural values.

‘Incorporating culture’

Kamehameha Schools is perceived to be working hard to incorporate Native Hawaiian culture and cultural values into the organisation. This shift has not been without its detractors with both internal and external interests resistant to a stronger cultural presence:

I’m like wow, like if this was Japan, nobody would be asking this question. Nobody would say gee is there too much Japanese culture in Japan (indigenous community leader).

This cultural change is still a work in progress and whilst it may have started with ‘putting values on posters’, there is recognition of the progress made and a significant turnaround in becoming much more ‘Hawaiian orientated’:

Yes, I think they’re trying to work towards that end you know, to incorporate Hawaiian values and whether they will be successful I don’t know, and I don’t know who’s leading that. But I think they’re doing more now than they did when I was in school, yep (indigenous community leader).

Part of this cultural change has been to have a much more open interpretation of the mission which is to focus on the broader wellbeing of the Hawaiian community. Movement beyond the confines of the school campuses has resulted in greater opportunities for innovation and

the incorporation of cultural values, the benefits of which flow out through the wider organisation.

‘It’s our only tribe’

Kamehameha Schools is part of a chiefly legacy stemming from the traditional ali’i and the gift of the last Hawaiian monarch Princess Pauahi. The desire to honour the legacy of their ancestors is deeply ingrained in the Hawaiian community, and as chief remnant of this legacy, Kamehameha Schools is a central symbol of Hawaiian tradition and culture:

It’s really our only tribe, you know, that in a modern sense that we have now can unify all of us (indigenous community leader).

The institution is a rallying point for indigenous aspirations but also has to shoulder most of the burden, as it is the largest and most powerful of the ali’i trusts. As such, it is seen as a key symbol of Hawaiian identity and heritage, whilst carrying expectations that it will fulfil a lead role in advancing aspirations.

Kamehameha schools indigenous staff

‘Infusing culture’

Kamehameha Schools has committed itself to realising its potential as a Hawaiian institution and is working its way through intertwining cultural values into decision-making, business activities and curriculum. This shift is led by a cultural leadership group who are ‘right there at the table’ weighing in on all major decisions. This process of codifying values into policy has positioned cultural values as ‘the intentional and expectational thread that goes through all we do’. More and more staff are ‘seeing the island’ and contributing to refocusing the vision on Hawaiian aspirations and culture:

I could be one of the engines in the tugboat you know but there are more and more are the people who want to see the change towards seeing that island, that same vision of our school being more of a Kula Hawaii (indigenous staff member).

There is recognition that much progress has been made and the organisation, and the place of Hawaiian culture within the organisation is ‘better today than ever before’.

‘Not comfortable in our own skin’

The shift towards a cultural paradigm has not come without its difficulties. The impact of colonisation and assimilation has caused an internal identity crisis for many Hawaiians as they struggle to resolve issues of cultural loss and insecurity. This internal identity crisis is often brought into the organisation where the loss of cultural knowledge and traditional leadership structures make it hard to define what is, and what is not Hawaiian culture:

You know, there’s only one Hawaiian tribe if you will, and it’s hard if you ask the question, okay take me to your leader, you’re not going to get a clear answer (indigenous staff member).

This internal identity crisis means, Hawaiian staff often do not feel comfortable ‘making calls involving culture’. The organisation’s journey to redefine itself as a Hawaiian institution is mirrored by many of its indigenous staff as they ‘work through issues of being secure as a Hawaiian in the 21st century, and what that means’. There is celebration however, of the next generation of emerging leaders whose strong cultural foundations and energy are expected to take Kamehameha Schools ‘to the next level’.

‘Peppered with aloha Hawai’i’

Although all acknowledge the good intent behind the infusion of culture, many indigenous staff believe that its implementation has been ‘spotty’ with cultural values not consistently evident. This inconsistency is attributed to culture being viewed as a ‘nice-to-do’ but not a requirement resulting in an at times cosmetic application of cultural values:

I think (the), I would say yes on the Hawaiian values but I mean people can list Hawaiian values for you pretty easily you know...Right now we have more lists than we can think of values, captions next to them and some of them are out there on walls or on posters (indigenous staff member).

The inconsistency of culture was attributed to varying levels of staff cultural competence and a seeming unwillingness to strongly push the culture for fear of making non-Hawaiians uncomfortable or creating feelings of being left out. There were, however, clearly identified ‘pockets where it feels Hawaiian’ and recognition of attempts to build the ‘cultural infrastructure’ of the organisation.

'Working within a Western system'

The controversy of the 1990s solidified a highly regulated structure, which addressed past governance issues but was never designed to address uniquely Hawaiian concerns or aspirations and is now seen as a major barrier towards further evolution. Kamehameha Schools exists within a Western economic system with little ability to change or influence its situation; and, therefore, has to make this Western system work for them.

There is variance in the role structure plays in constraining cultural aspirations within the organisation with many believing success is a matter of having the right people, not structure:

I think you've mentioned before, you know, being in the legal structure that we are in, both American legal structure then as an American Trust your fiduciary trust structure. I'd like to say that sometimes I think we use those, it is hard, don't get me wrong, it would be hard, but that can't be our scapegoat not to do something (indigenous staff member).

For many the organisational structure was a good 'foreign tool', or vehicle to advance collective interests.

'Trying to be all things to all people'

Kamehameha Schools is seen as 'the biggest game in town', but its wealth and power has also resulted in it becoming a lightning rod for criticism from external interests seeking to control its significant assets. This huge asset base is also matched by huge expectations of Kamehameha Schools to solve the problems of Native Hawaiian community. The organisation is further pressured to do more, as it is the largest, and most visible indigenous institution in Hawai'i, and, therefore, burdened with heavy expectations by its community:

I think that's, that's, I think that's a big question KS needs to answer, what is our role, we're being looked at for a lot of different things now, we cannot solve, I think we're meant to or have the resources, or as rich as we are thought to be to solve all of our people's problems and one I don't think, I feel that's the wrong way of thinking you know our people need us (indigenous staff member).

Despite its wealth, the institution's resources are finite and with 'only so many hours in a day' indigenous staff are concerned the pressure to do more, and 'keep everyone happy', places the organisation under greater strain.

Kamehameha schools non-indigenous staff

'The organisation is evolving'

Kamehameha Schools is in a vastly different place than where it was during the controversy of the 1990s. The organisation has been changing its perceptions and structures as it has built its own capacity and come to grips with its own identity. Central to this evolution has been a deliberate focus on incorporating indigenous culture into the organisation so that it permeates both its education and commercial arms and activities.

Embedding indigenous culture into the organisation hasn't been without its challenges as Hawaiian values 'bump up against American cultural norms', but Kamehameha Schools has been able to bridge that gap by setting 'one foot in the Western world, and one in an indigenous world':

So my sense is it's a melding. There are certain things that are very similar; certain things are very different (non-indigenous staff member).

Balancing two differing systems and multiple bottom lines requires specific skills and knowledge sets, so Kamehameha Schools has also set itself the goal of preparing the next generation of Hawaiian leaders grounded in their cultural identity and able to walk confidently in both worlds. These culturally orientated emerging leaders are not restricted to Kamehameha Schools but are launched to other communities to support the wider development of Hawaiian communities.

'It's hard to deviate'

Following the controversy of the 1990s, Kamehameha Schools needed a new structure and model of governance. Due to the historical mismanagement this new model was designed to operate in line with Trust laws:

I mean maybe that's a good thing; they're there now for a reason because you know it got mismanaged historically. So you know it's like any time when you have a consolidation if you have a benign dictator it's good and things usually function well, but then, if you get some bad people, it can go really bad because they have a fast track that do things really fast. So we're kind of organised purposely to be a little slow and methodical and there's checks and balances (non-indigenous staff member).

Although this has helped Kamehameha Schools 'shake a nefarious reputation', the organisation has moved on from that era, yet is still under heavy scrutiny and state oversight:

You know the problem we have, and probably it's not just a KS issue, is that we get, we have state oversight. There's an attorney general, a court master so we're governed by a sort of Western framework Trust law. So it forces you to have to do those things (non-indigenous staff member).

The influence of regulatory pressures and Trust laws has been all-powerful, creating challenges for the organisation to evolve and deviate institutional norms. The organisation expends a large amount of energy addressing these conflicts and performing 'bureaucratic gymnastics' as it struggles to step outside organisational norms.

'Need to be mainstream to impart change'

Kamehameha Schools works with subject matter or portfolio experts, often non-Hawaiians, hired from the 'mainland', who are then engaged in decision-making. The matching of a social mission with powerful resources is irresistible for many non-Hawaiian staff who love the mission and have a sense of responsibility to the legacy of the Hawaiian ali'i. The high numbers of non-Hawaiian staff and the tight regulatory environment have resulted in a largely 'mainstream' organisational structure, but this is not seen as a major impediment:

I think how we manage our lands strategically, you'll see the way we've been doing that, integrating indigenous management in the way we manage our assets but hasn't manifested itself in big structural change, because at the end of the day no matter where you move the blocks I don't know if that truly of itself, you know it's not, it's how you operate all the time, how you relate and that is probably more indicative of having that indigenous sort of underpinning the actual structure itself (non-indigenous staff member).

There is 'no one best way of organising' as the issues can often be overcome by getting 'the right people with the right values', so it is more a case of 'good people supplant policy', as opposed to the organisational structure provided the remedy for all of Kamehameha Schools' challenges. It is also identified that being 'mainstream' can provide distinct advantages through increasing the organisation's influence within the broader education community:

So we've got to be maybe be more mainstream with our approaches because we need to connect and resonate with teachers and principals in that system so we get, impart change right (non-indigenous staff member).

Kamehameha Schools focuses on making a Western model work for its own needs using its 'mainstream' status and influence to pressure the broader education system to change for the benefit of all Hawaiians.

'Trying to be more open'

Kamehameha Schools has been working hard to engage and listen to its communities in an effort to increase its transparency, but this has not been a simple task. The definition of a beneficiary is very broad, and despite its huge endowment, the organisation's wealth is not growing at the same rate as its beneficiary group, creating a 'divergence in the ability to serve':

...and because we have such a large land holding and such a big endowment, we tend to get looked at to do everything; but I would argue also, that it takes us away from sort of the mission of our organisation (non-indigenous staff member).

Huge resources and a huge beneficiary group have resulted in huge expectations where increased transparency has opened up the organisation to 'getting pulled all over the place' as it tries to respond to the needs of multiple and diverse communities:

I use the metaphor of ice cream, you know, to serve the most; it makes sense to just give vanilla to everybody, right. Then people say you're not meeting my needs I don't want vanilla, sorry you're going to get vanilla. But if you take individual orders you're going to make 100 different flavours in your factories, it's not very efficient, but you're making everybody happy. We believe that the best flavours are these, and to the extent

possible, here's why, but there's some room for some variation in there (non-indigenous staff member).

Thus, whilst Kamehameha Schools has become better at listening to its communities, this has resulted in greater pressure to do more as the organisation is looked at to provide leadership in growing Hawaiian wellbeing across the board.

'How do you do it in an indigenous way'

Kamehameha Schools' journey to becoming a Hawaiian institution grounded in culture does not include a clear road map or destination. Grounding activities in Hawaiian cultural values has not been easy, with debate concerning what is, and what is not Hawaiian culture:

And we observe Hawaiian protocol and traditions, so we have protocol every morning, it's little things, and I have to be honest, there's a lot of conversations about what that means, what does it mean to be a Hawaiian organisation and I wish I had a better answer (non-indigenous staff member).

A greater orientation towards cultural values is new for the organisation, which has struggled to define how these cultural values can be given voice within its operations. A cautious step-by-step approach has been taken with the realisation that discovery and experimentation are part of the journey:

You know, sometimes you get these awkward places, so I wouldn't say it's a bad place, but there are definitely people I think, who would say; no we're not, you know have ways go, you get all different answers on that. I don't think anyone would say yep, we're there. But I don't know if there is a there. I'm not sure (non-indigenous staff member).

Although they are not there yet, there is recognition that progress is being made and it is only a matter of time and effort:

It's just a, you know like I said, if we figure it out, then I can go write a book and go on tour, yep (non-indigenous staff member).

Similarities across the respondent groups

This section outlines the dominant conceptual themes that emerged across all three of the Kamehameha Schools respondent groups; Community and Elders, Indigenous Staff and Non-indigenous Staff. The most dominant conceptual themes are first.

‘Infusing culture’

Kamehameha Schools is in the process of indigenising itself through integrating Hawaiian culture and people across its operations and activities. Indigenous cultural values are becoming more central to the organisation and it is being embedded through leadership, policy and practice:

It’s nothing to do with whether you’re Hawaiian or not, as an employee of Kamehameha and your organisation, you choose to come and work with us, you need to understand this is sort of who we are and this is what we value and then codifying it into a policy piece which is huge because we never had a policy about culture and it’s role here at Kamehameha even though one would think we have, but we didn’t (indigenous staff member).

Culture has become an ‘expectational thread’ that is intended to permeate everything the organisation does. Whilst this has not been fully realised yet, there is a clear push towards a more cultural orientation and a greater appreciation of how closely tied Kamehameha Schools’ success is tied to its cultural integrity:

To me, the potential and the promise of the organisation is that we really can be a leading indigenous organisation and school by being the most Hawaiian. I think we would best achieve our promise if we stepped up to the legacy of Kamehameha and of that family and really recognise that we have a responsibility to do Hawaiian in everything that we do in education, in business, really well (indigenous staff member).

Kamehameha Schools bridges an indigenous Hawaiian world and a Western world. Rather than separating cultural and commercial or educational activities, the organisation is working to ensure culture informs every decision and activity so that Hawaiian cultural values are inseparable from the institution itself.

‘Change was like a four letter word’

All respondents identified that Kamehameha Schools existed in a highly regulated context that constrained Hawaiian aspirations. Following the controversy of the 1990s, a new era and compliance structure were established. Whilst the organisation has progressed markedly from that time, it is still beholden to a stringent compliance regime that makes it hard to deviate from organisational norms and fosters a culture of compliance:

So, so Kamehameha you know, and even for lots of Hawaiian people, people like status quo. People are not, lots of people don't want to see change, not just older generations actually, my classmates and contemporaries as well. I think people are, you know, often very fear based, if they can't see a little flavour of it. So I don't know that's different (indigenous community leader).

The regulatory environment and strong sense of tradition have been impediments to challenging the status quo and creating a more culturally nuanced paradigm.

'Could be so much more'

Kamehameha Schools' huge endowment and the size of its beneficiary group create big expectations for the organisation to deliver upon. These expectations often fall on Kamehameha Schools not because it is the most logical strategic fit, but because it is the 'biggest game in town', which creates added pressures to move beyond the parameters of its mission:

I don't think necessarily that we should be everything to our people, that we have that capacity, or maybe we should have the audacity to think that we are that for our people. But I don't hear that conversation very often to be honest though, so you know, people interpret what they feel our role is, and they try and act on it, and that leads to the division of priorities and then ends up with, you know, my lack of priorities. I mean, I like to say that you know if there's, if you have too many priorities, you have no priority, and I think KS has a lot of that going on. Where everything's a priority, so there is no priority (indigenous staff member).

The challenge of servicing such a broad and diverse beneficiary group is magnified by a lack of clarity on how it can fit with other Native Hawaiian institutions and ali'i trusts, most of whom have limited resources and capability. With the issue of federal recognition as an indigenous people still unresolved, Kamehameha Schools has become a focal point for a

broad range of indigenous aspirations, regardless of whether it is willing, or well suited to take on such causes.

‘Love for the mission’

Kamehameha Schools is closely tied with Hawaiian cultural identity as the largest of the ali'i trusts, and thereby the most visible symbol of the legacy of the Hawaiian monarchy. The institution itself has a broad enough beneficiary base that most Hawaiians feel connected in some way, and it has become a key site for Native Hawaiians to connect to their culture and heritage:

It's really our only tribe you know, that in a modern sense that we have now; can unify all of us. We have civic clubs and other social organisations, but that's the only one that really has assets, that has land, that would allow us for example in the lands, to practice land tenure again (indigenous community leader).

The institution is inextricably tied to the genealogy and legacy of its founder who remains revered by all Hawaiians. Following in the footsteps of Princess Pauahi and upholding her legacy is an incredibly powerful motivator for both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian staff who are drawn to her mission:

So just coming to work knowing that everybody knows who Pauahi is, and what she was trying to do for our people, and that we're trying to live that out every day, is kind of the heartbeat of the workplace, and I've worked in a number of other places that just lack that completely. There's no reason for coming to work other than making the money or keeping the boss happy or whatever it is. So I think Pauahi alone is like an anchor-point for us at work (indigenous staff member).

This deep sense of 'aloha for the mission' is a powerful draw card for advocates of Hawaiian advancement and the institution has become a rallying point for emerging leaders and change makers because of its potential to positively impact on Native Hawaiian communities.

Differences between the respondent groups

This section outlines the dominant differences and contrasts in conceptual themes between the three Kamehameha Schools respondent groups; Community and Elders, Indigenous Staff and Non-indigenous Staff. The strongest differences are first.

‘Battling to become a Hawaiian school’

Whilst Kamehameha is acknowledged as moving towards a more cultural paradigm, there are differences regarding how success implementation has been. Non-Hawaiian staff recognise that culture is an area of tension, but this tension is externalised as culture ‘butting up against American norms’, and are much more comfortable with Kamehameha’s ability to reconcile and balance cultural values within the organisation. For indigenous staff, culture is a very strong point of tension, but the source of this tension is attributed to both external regulatory pressures and internal resistance:

Maybe educationally, I think we’re trying to push toward upside and middle, and really think about being not just a school for Hawaiians, but a Hawaiian school and but that’s a battle (indigenous staff member).

Indigenous staff and community leaders are much more critical of the ‘spotty implementation’ where culture is seen as a ‘nice to do’, rather than the foundation for all activities. Whilst there are acknowledged ‘pockets of Hawaiianess’, there is frustration at the levels of internal resistance to change and a seeming lack of willingness to drive cultural change for fear of upsetting non-Hawaiian staff. These sentiments are echoed by indigenous community members who feel this resistance ‘keeps the institution in a box’ and is an obstacle to Kamehameha Schools transitioning to a Hawaiian institution grounded in culture rather than just an institution serving Hawaiians.

‘Identity crisis’

Non-Hawaiian staff are very much attracted to Hawaiian culture and find working for Kamehameha Schools a deeply rewarding experience that enables them to reflect upon, and greater appreciate their own cultural roots:

When you’re in a culture you don’t realise you’re in a culture, until you step outside and see how people do it differently; and I think that’s one of the joys of coming from another place and coming here. I now have appreciated my own culture much more than I would if I had never been here (non-indigenous staff member).

The experience for Native Hawaiians is different, as feelings regarding Kamehameha and its identity as a Hawaiian institution are closely linked with an internal conflict regarding culture and identity. There is a very broad range of cultural competence between non-Hawaiian and Hawaiian staff, and amongst Hawaiian staff themselves. Therefore, much of the tension surrounding culture can be attributed to internal feelings of insecurity resulting from cultural loss:

And it's expected in fact, that you do that, that it's okay. Like you come here to be Hawaiian because we're a Hawaiian organisation and you can be that. Like we're struggling with an identity crisis and Kamehameha is part of that reason (indigenous community leader).

Although working for Kamehameha Schools can be a very culturally affirming experience for non-Hawaiian staff, the experience can also be very conflicting for Hawaiian staff who bring their own cultural insecurities with them and are often 'not comfortable making calls when it involves culture'. Thus, the root underlying cause of many organisational conflicts is an internal identity crisis that many indigenous staff have brought into the organisation.

'Need to make our own mistakes'

There is a difference between indigenous staff and non-indigenous staff regarding the benefits of a 'mainstream' approach. For non-indigenous staff Kamehameha Schools is best situated as a mainstream institution to secure itself in a position of influence. The majority of Hawaiian children are educated outside Kamehameha Schools, so this desire to remain part of the norm is to ensure Kamehameha Schools can influence and effect positive transformation for Hawaiians within the broader community:

So we've got to be maybe, be more mainstream with our approaches because we need to connect and resonate with teachers and principals in that system so we get, impart change right (non-indigenous staff members).

Indigenous staff acknowledge the need to support Hawaiian students wherever they may be but fear continually looking to outsiders for guidance with growing frustrations that Hawaiians don't trust themselves enough to find their own answer. There are concerns that the wider community covet the institution's assets and seek to influence the organisation to suit their own agenda, which does not lie in Kamehameha Schools being a Hawaiian school.

Summary

This chapter, the second of three case studies, focused on Kamehameha Schools. This chapter began with a description of the case, outlining the historical and cultural context of the case, to situation the case and the findings within the cultural context of the research setting. The chapter concluded with a description of the key findings and theoretical concepts that emerged from the detailed inductive qualitative analysis of the transcripts of primary informants using grounded theory methods. The next chapters focuses on the third case study, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu.

Chapter 6: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu

This chapter, the third of three case studies, focuses on Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu of New Zealand. The chapter has two sections. The first section provides a description of the case and situates the case within its historical and cultural context. This is achieved through the case description. It is derived from the analysis of documentation from the organisation, field notes, literature and the researchers own understandings as a descendant of the Ngāi Tahu tribe. The second section outlines the key findings and theoretical concepts that emerged from the data. These findings are derived from the inductive qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts of 17 primary informants using grounded theory methods.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu case description

Introduction

Ngāi Tahu is the fourth largest Māori iwi (tribe) and has the largest tribal territory covering 80% of New Zealand's South Island. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu was established in 1996, by an independent act of parliament giving the tribe a long sought after legal identity. In 1998, the organisation received \$170 million stemming from unjust land purchases, thus ending a 150-year fight to settle historic grievances with the Crown. Ngāi Tahu was one of the first iwi to settle and is widely recognised as a success story having significantly grown its settlement to over \$1 billion since its settlement and having developed a range of innovative social, cultural, educational, and environmental initiatives to benefit its 49,500 iwi members.

Historical context

Te Waipounamu (New Zealand's South Island) was the most southern point of the Pacific Islands to have been settled by Polynesian explorers. The first Polynesian settlers were drawn to Te Waipounamu by the richness of its natural resources. The forests were lush with birdlife, including several species of the huge flightless moa. The waterways provided eels, inanga (whitebait), kanakana (lampreys) and waterfowl. The grasslands provided numerous edible birds and kiore (native rat), alongside edible plant life such as aruhe (bracken fern), tī-

kouka (cabbage tree), and cultivated foods such as kumara; whilst the oceans provided a rich bounty of fish and shellfish. Each region had its own specialty foods for the hunter gatherer economy but no resource was more highly treasured than the pounamu (New Zealand jade) of Te Tai o Poutini (South Island's West Coast), which was equally valued for its beauty as its practical uses (Evison, 1997). Pounamu was a sign of mana (prestige), and was greatly cherished by the rangatira (chiefs) and ariki (paramount chiefs), who personified the mana (prestige) of their hapū (sub-tribes).

According to traditions, the first wave of human settlement was Waitaha who upon arrival on their voyaging canoe, Uruao, set about exploring and naming the landscape. Over time, they were joined by Ngāti Māmoē who migrated from Te Tai Rāwhiti (North Island's East Coast) before Ngāi Tahu moved south. Ngāi Tahu also descended from Te Tai Rāwhiti and took their name from their ancestor, Tahu Potiki, a descendant of the legendary whale rider, Paikea. Following hostilities with neighbouring tribes in Wellington, Ngāi Tahu hapū began moving south in a series of migrations; Ngāti Kurī established themselves in Kaikōura, Ngāi Tūhaitara in Canterbury and the Banks Peninsula, with Ngāti Irakehu also residing in the Banks Peninsula. The Ngāi Tūhaitara chief, Tūrākautahi, established the largest fortified village at Kaiapoi before expansion moved further south. Small scale skirmishes between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoē, followed by political alliances sealed through marriages, saw Ngāi Tahu's expand further south until the point that tribal boundaries extended from Te Parinui-o-whiti (White Bluffs) on the East Coast to Kahurangi Point on the West Coast all the way down to Rakiura (Stewart Island) in the south. The tribal proverb Ngāi Tahu Whānui refers to the mixed origins of the tribe including the earlier peoples, Waitaha and Ngāti Māmoē, and the five principal hapū of Ngāi Tahu; Ngāti Kurī, Ngāti Irakehu, Ngāti Huirapa, Ngāi Tūāhuriri and Ngāi Te Ruahikihiki.

The Ngāi Tahu world was driven by whakapapa (genealogy). Mana was inherited through whakapapa as well as attained through individual deeds. Whakapapa established a social order determined by chiefly lineage and organised society into kinship groupings based on whānau (extended families), hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribes). Whakapapa also established human relationships with the environment even ordering intangible elements such as the winds (Tau, 2000, 2003).

The relative peace established by Ngāi Tahu's marriage alliance to Ngāti Māmoe around the year 1780, was broken in 1824, when a woman named Murihaka tried on a prestigious cloak of a Ngāi Tahu ariki, Te Maiharanui, while he was away. This breach of his personal tapu (sacredness), was punishable by death and started a chain of events which escalated into an inter-hapū conflict known as the Kai Huaka (eat relatives) feud. This conflict was followed by invasion led by Ngāti Toa fighting chief Te Rauparaha in 1829-1830, which eventually saw large areas of territory virtually depopulated, devastating Ngāi Tahu and its hunter-gatherer economy (Evison, 1997).

During this period, the initially small numbers of European whalers, sealers, and traders gave way to an increasing wave of Pākehā (European) settlement. This new invasion also saw the arrival of introduced diseases that killed more than half of the southern Māori population in the 1830s (Evison, 1997). Following a peace settlement with Ngāti Toa in 1839, Ngāi Tahu's leading chiefs committed to signing the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 at Akaroa, Ruapuke and Ōtākou. Ngāi Tahu signed the Treaty as equals with expectations of material benefits, but this vision vanished with the proclamation of British sovereignty and the Crown asserting its power as absolute (Evison, 1997). The Treaty then became the means to facilitate the Crown's purchase of land from Māori.

Lands were sold, not because Māori wanted to sell them, but this was often the only way to gain recognition for ever having ownership and customary rights (Belgrave, 2012). Using unfair purchasing practices and threats of buying the land from Ngāti Toa, the Crown claimed title to around 34.5 million acres of Ngāi Tahu land through ten major purchases for £14,750 ("Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act," 1998).²² The resulting transfer of land into Pākehā hands left Ngāi Tahu impoverished, living on scraps of native reserve lands, and unable to access the mahinga kai (food resources) of their hunter-gatherer economy, and without the capital to access a new pastoral economy. The prosperity of Ngāi Tahu communities as observed by early Pākehā explorers in the 1840s was replaced by landlessness, poverty, and huge population decline (Evison, 1997). Hoani Uru lamented the absolute poverty of his people: "All the people who have families have a great struggle to maintain them. Better be dead and out of the way, as there did not appear to be any place for them in the future"

²² The ten major purchases were: Ōtākou 1844, Canterbury (Kemp's) 1848, Port Cooper 1849, Port Levy 1849, Murihiku 1853, Akaroa 1856, North Canterbury 1857, Kaikōura 1859, Arahura 1860, and Rakiura 1864.

(Parsonson, 2000, p. 222). After decades of loss, pursuing the Crown to honour the land transactions and the promises made became a matter of survival not just justice for Ngāi Tahu.

The first formal statement of grievance came from Matiaha Tiramōrehu in 1849 who protested the meagre reserves and unfulfilled promises of schools and hospitals. In his 1857 petition to Queen Victoria Tiramōrehu wrote: “This was the command thy love laid upon these Governors... that the law be made one, that the commandments be made one, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made just equal with the dark skin, and to lay down the love of thy graciousness to the Māori that they dwell happily... and remember the power of thy name” (“Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act,” 1998). Hōri Kerei Taiaroa began pursuit of Te Kēreme (Ngāi Tahu Claim) in parliament in the 1870s, while the Waitaha prophet, Te Maihāroa, took an alternative path leading the occupation of Te Ao Mārama in 1877. The collective efforts of tribal protest led to the 1879 Royal Commission known as the Smith-Nairn Commission,²³ and Alexander Mackay’s reports of 1887 and 1891 (Belgrave, 2012). Despite acknowledgement that larger reserves should have been set aside, no actions were taken. Eventually, in 1906, some lands were returned under the pretext that Ngāi Tahu was virtually landless, however, almost all of it was inaccessible and of no use (Belgrave, 2012). In 1921, Chief Judge Robert Noble Jones suggested that Ngāi Tahu be paid £354,000 in compensation for never receiving the reserves to which they were entitled under the terms of the deeds of Kemp’s purchase (Canterbury). In 1944, the Labour-Ratana political alliance moved to settle Ngāi Tahu claims but watered down the commission’s findings to the point that Ngāi Tahu only received £10,000 per year for 30 years (Belgrave, 2012). The act was passed as a full and final settlement despite widespread opposition from Ngāi Tahu who were not consulted with prior and felt it did little to address breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, their impoverishment of the other purchases of Ngāi Tahu lands (Parsonson, 2000). During Eruera Tirikatene’s tour around various Rūnanga (tribal councils), canvassing opinions of the settlement, it was noted the settlement was accepted on the premise that ‘half a loaf is better than no bread’ (Evison, 1997, p. 345), demonstrating that the inequality and lack of dialogue led to a settlement that was neither full nor final for Ngāi Tahu.

²³ The Commission was terminated by government before it produced a final report.

The Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board was established under an act in 1946 to administer funds from the 1944 settlement. Prudent financial management of the settlement funds saw the trust board grow its portfolio and make a variety of distributions to kaumātua (elders), and education grants to tribal members. The trust board itself was severely constrained by compliance procedures with officials scrutinising board activities to the extent that it could not write a cheque over \$200 without permission of the Minister (Hill, 2009; Parsonson, 2000). The desire from iwi leaders to develop a new and independent legal identity for Ngāi Tahu, without government oversight, gained momentum in the 1980s-90s, following changes to the Waitangi Tribunal and shifts in government strategies seeking to devolve powers and resources to iwi.

The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 under the Treaty of Waitangi Act to investigate contemporary Māori grievances and advance the application of the ‘principles of the Treaty’. In 1985, the Waitangi Tribunal’s jurisdiction was extended through an amending act to encompass grievances stemming from the Crown’s historic breaches of the Treaty after 6 February 1840. These advances had been partly driven by a strong protest movement that arose in the 1970s and by changing economic circumstances. The 1984 Labour government restructured the economy by implementing neo-liberal economic policies generally known as Rogernomics. Rogernomics takes its name from the then Minister of Finance (1984-87), Roger Douglas, who sought to deregulate the New Zealand economy in a similar manner to the economic restructuring of the Reagan era (Tau, 2012). New Zealand was in a financial crisis in the 1980s prompting it to privatise state corporations through the 1986 State-Owned Enterprises Act. The Crown’s ability to sell these assets was contingent on first resolving Māori claims to resources through the Waitangi Tribunal. Māori claims gained further leverage with Court of Appeal decisions in 1986-87 reinforcing the importance of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Therefore, a cash-strapped New Zealand government’s attempts at settling Māori grievances were likely driven more by economic pressures than a desire for social justice (Tau, 2012).

Although the minimalisation of welfare and mass redundancies caused by Rogernomics hit Māori hardest, Māori sought the ability to determine their own future with their own resources. In 1987 the Crown’s focus on devolution expanded to include the devolving of

significant powers and resources to iwi authorities (Hill, 2009). An unlikely alliance of right-wing economic restructuring and Māori aspirations for rangatiratanga (self-determination) found common ground in a desire for corporatisation. This was no different for Ngāi Tahu, whose two principal negotiators, Henare Rakiihia Tau and Tipene O'Regan, were advised by Rogernomics exponents C.S. First Boston and the legal brains of Bell, Gully, Buddle and Weir (Highman, 1997, p. 77). It was in this environment, and armed with a strong desire to establish the tribe as a full legal identity, that Ngāi Tahu filed a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986 to address its grievances with the Crown.

Establishing the organisation

In 1986, Henare Rakiihia Tau filed a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal on behalf of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board. The claim was known as the 'nine tall trees' as there were nine components; a claim for each of the major Crown land purchases with the ninth claim focused on mahinga kai (food resources) on which Ngāi Tahu depended on for food and trade. 1986 also saw Ngāi Tahu head to court to challenge the introduction of the fisheries quota management system, which eventually led to the establishment of the Māori Fisheries Commission, chaired by Ngāi Tahu leader Sir Tipene O'Regan (Parsonson, 2000). By the time the Waitangi Tribunal published its report in 1991,²⁴ Ngāi Tahu's leadership were already galvanised and ready for negotiation with the Crown. In 1996, The Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act was passed, which established a new governing body accountable to the tribe. Ngāi Tahu had achieved a form of its own choosing with its legal identity being constituted in an independent piece of legislation, which was described by Hana O'Regan who noted: "The cloak we wear now is one that we ourselves have made" (Hill, 2009, p. 260).

The 1998 Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act had two main aspects, economic redress and cultural redress. The economic redress included a cash settlement of \$170 million with additional deferred selection rights that allowed Ngāi Tahu to buy Crown lands up to the value of \$250 million within 12 months of the settlement. The economic redress also included a right of first refusal to acquire surplus Crown assets at market value giving the tribe a perpetual trading advantage and helping it to quickly become the largest property owner after the Crown (Parsonson, 2000). Ngāi Tahu's settlement was only preceded by the Waikato-Tainui Raupatu settlement of 1995 with both these early Treaty settlements

²⁴ This was followed by The Ngāi Tahu Sea Fisheries Report 1992 and The Ngāi Tahu Ancillary Claims Report 1995.

negotiating a 'relativity' clause to ensure both groups receive approximately 17 percent of the total value of all Treaty settlements to protect the value against the possibility of larger future settlements. The economic redress provided Ngāi Tahu with the means to re-establish its economic base, which was critical to re-establishing tribal rangatiratanga and enabling the tribe to begin to invest in its future through funding its own social and cultural development.

The elements of the Ngāi Tahu cultural redress were designed to restore Ngāi Tahu's presence within its tribal territory. A key aspect of the cultural redress was an apology from the Crown acknowledging that the Crown 'acted unconscionable and in repeated breach of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in its dealings with Ngāi Tahu', which was a critical step in the healing process ("Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act," 1998). Ngāi Tahu's sacred mountain, Aoraki, was returned as well as recognition of tribal ownership of pounamu,²⁵ the Southern Titi Islands, wāhi taonga,²⁶ title to three lake beds, dedicated membership on conservation boards and the gazetting of approximately 90 Ngāi Tahu place names and statutory acknowledgement of Ngāi Tahu's special connection to some sixty areas. These tools provided a framework to incorporate Ngāi Tahu values into the management of the environment and supported Ngāi Tahu's aspirations to regain the ability to give effect to its kaitiakitanga²⁷ responsibilities (Parsonson, 2000).

The cultural redress provided recognition of Ngāi Tahu's special connection to the environment and enabled the iwi to express this relationship and have greater input into the management of these taonga.²⁸ The financial redress has enabled the iwi to re-establish itself as a power within its own takiwa²⁹ and regain a measure of economic self-reliance. Just as important, the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu act created a new structure and legal identity under its own piece of legislation, which was the first time an iwi was recognised as a legitimate political entity (Tau, 2012). For the first time, Ngāi Tahu no longer had to operate under the auspices of the Crown and now its accountabilities rested with the tribe itself, not government (Parsonson, 2000). The Ngāi Tahu settlement provided a measure of Crown recognition of

²⁵ New Zealand jade.

²⁶ Special sites.

²⁷ Guardianship.

²⁸ Treasures.

²⁹ Territory.

tribal rangatiratanga. With its own legal identity, greater cultural recognition and its own economic resources, Ngāi Tahu could finally pursue its aspirations for rangatiratanga on its own terms as described by Sir Tipene O'Regan: "Iwi in control of themselves and their own assets in their own rohe" (Hill, 2009, p. 276).

Evolution of the organisation

The signing of the deed of settlement was followed by a period of rapid growth and change for Ngāi Tahu. A new tribal parliament structure was established with each of the 18 Papatipu Rūnanga electing one representative for the central tribal council, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. This central governing body oversaw a commercial arm (Ngāi Tahu Holdings), and a social delivery arm (Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation). Ngāi Tahu Holdings established subsidiary companies in property, seafood, tourism and capital investments. The gains made through exercising the Deferred Settlement Process and First Right of Refusal saw the value of the settlement quickly double alongside the iwi's burgeoning property portfolio. Tribal governors sought to maintain an aggressive re-investment policy, reinvesting two-thirds of income into future growth while pursuing a distribution policy focused on supporting tribal members through education grants. As the financial base increased, the iwi's social service delivery arm, the Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation, rapidly expanded in size and scope to include education, health, cultural, environmental and Rūnanga development portfolios.

The settlement was the catalyst for a period of cultural reclamation and renaissance for Ngāi Tahu. The tribal whakapapa database of registered iwi members soared as tribal descendants sought to connect. In 2000, a language revitalisation strategy, Kotahi Mano Kāika, was launched seeking to revitalise te reo Māori³⁰ in 1000 Ngāi Tahu homes. A large consultative process underpinned the development of the Ngāi Tahu 2025 vision document, which was formally adopted by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu in 2001. The document outlined the collective aspirations for the tribe and how to use the settlement to achieve the intergenerational tribal mission 'Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei'.³¹ The 2025 vision document focused on nine key areas of development:

- Te Ao Tūroa – Natural Environment

³⁰ Māori language.

³¹ For us and our children after us.

- Ko Ngā Wahakapāpātanga – Tribal Communications and Participation
- Tō Tātou Ngāi Tahu Tangata – Culture and Identity
- Te Whakaariki – Influence
- Te Whakatipu – Papatipu Rūnanga Development
- Whānau – Social Development
- Mātauranga – Education
- Te Kaitiakitanga me te Tāhuhu – Governance and Organisational Development
- Te Pūtea – Investment Planning

The period after settlement also saw a significant change in leadership with the Claim's leadership stepping aside and not having as active role in governance as might have been expected. Lead negotiator, Tipene O'Regan, stepped down after a fundamental disagreement over the investment direction of the tribe and former Chair Charlie Crofts had been forced to step down by his own Rūnanga (Keene & Ifopo, 2008). This change in leadership resulted in a loss of momentum and lack of strategic alignment in implementing the settlement. The highs of early successes gave way to increasing political tensions as Papatipu Rūnanga voiced their discontent over tangible regional benefits and the perceived concentration of resources with a centralised tribal bureaucracy (Keene & Ifopo, 2008).

The mid 2000s were characterised by inner, and at times very public, turmoil as Ngāi Tahu leadership struggled to align a coherent strategic vision across all of its divisions. The Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation had rapidly expanded into a sizeable and expensive administrative centre. After a review found the administration was spending \$3 to distribute \$1 a change process was initiated to merge The Office of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and the Ngāi Tahu Development Corporation into one entity (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2005). The resulting restructure saw many tribal members lose their jobs and was both a politically and socially painful period for the iwi.

The change proposal also shifted distribution policies to include greater focus on delivering value directly to whānau and individuals. The Whai Rawa iwi savings scheme was established in 2006 to support financial independence and literacy as drivers of broader support whānau wellbeing. In the same year, the Ngāi Tahu Fund distributed its first grants towards community and whānau projects to revitalise and grow Ngāi Tahu culture. Both

programmes were widely celebrated as they engaged a large proportion of iwi members and distributing tangible benefits to grass-roots iwi members, but both also required sustainable and sizeable financial returns to operate smoothly (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2006, 2007).

The lack of strategic alignment across the organisation also led to increasing tensions within the organisation's leadership and governance. One of Te Rūnanga's earliest policy decisions was to employ the 'best person for the job', which gave the iwi credibility in the wider society, but resulted in large numbers of non-Māori staff, executives, and governors, especially in the investment arm. Internal tension between the social delivery and investment arms were exacerbated by Ngāi Tahu Holdings' perceived lack of alignment with tribal values and goals. Many Rūnanga had expected to receive a share of the wealth with their communities benefitting through employment opportunities. When this did not eventuate, frustration grew as Rūnanga felt they had little ownership or control over iwi assets.

These tensions became much more public in 2006, after Ngāi Tahu Holdings made a one-off balance sheet write-down of \$20.7 million after purchasing overvalued seafood assets that performed poorly (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2006). At the same time, there was a very public dispute between two factions on the governance table. To address a divided board and internal division between the two arms, an interim Group Board was established in 2006 to strengthen internal cohesion. After a series of resignations from Te Rūnanga representatives, senior executive staff from Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and then Ngāi Tahu Holdings, a period of relative political stability ensued.

Ten years after settlement Te Rūnanga focused on building strategic and operational alignment across the organisation. Following years of division, a strategy focused on Kotahitanga (unity) saw further restructuring across the Te Rūnanga Group seeking to centralise core services to improve transparency, efficiency, and operational alignment. Further restructuring at a governance level saw the establishment of new boards for each subsidiary and the inclusion of a Ngāi Tahu representative on each of these boards to support greater strategic alignment. In 2008, a more deliberate approach to incorporating Ngāi Tahu cultural values into the organisation emerged. Having reached a period of relative maturity, Te Rūnanga sought greater ownership of its development agenda and now sought to be more explicit in incorporating iwi cultural values across the organisation.

The post-settlement era was characterised by both rapid growth and its resulting turmoil. Post-settlement iwi leadership faced significant and largely unanticipated crises as the iwi struggled to adapt to its newfound autonomy, modernise its culture and then embed its culture into its newly formed organisation. The initial rapid growth of iwi membership was only matched by the rapid growth of the expectations iwi members had of Te Rūnanga. Historic inequalities in education meant that the iwi lacked expertise and was heavily reliant on Pākehā staff and management practices. The re-establishment of a tribal economic base has given Ngāi Tahu a measure of self-reliance but equally it has repositioned Ngāi Tahu as a power in their local economic, cultural, and political landscape. A strong focus on partnerships with local authorities and central government has consolidated these gains. With a strong economic base and secure political leadership, the tribe has turned its attention to be more explicit in ensuring activities are grounded in cultural values and to balance its responsibilities as a central voice for the collective with its added role in supporting Papatipu Rūnanga to enhance their own autonomy.

Organisational features

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu was established by the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act 1996 to be the vehicle for protecting and advancing the collective interests of the iwi and ensures that the benefits of the settlement are enjoyed by Ngāi Tahu whānui now, and in the future (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2013a). Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu was established in accordance with its charter, Te Kawenata o Ngāi Tahu, which conceptualises the organisation as a carved ancestral house, named the House of Tahu. Its purpose is to shelter and serve the people and is charged with protecting and growing the collective economic base of the tribe on behalf of Papatipu Rūnanga for the benefit of the people and future generations. A key founding principle is that the assets will be managed separately from the bodies that spend and distribute income and that all those who trace descent to the iwi have the right to benefit. The carved posts of a traditional Māori meetinghouse are likened to the 18 Papatipu Rūnanga, each maintaining their own mana³² and tino rangatiratanga.³³ Each of these Rūnanga elect a representative and collectively they form the centralised voice of the iwi, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2012).

³² Prestige.

³³ Sovereignty.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu seeks to achieve the tribal vision outlined in the Ngāi Tahu 2025 document. Its activities are guided by the tribal proverbial saying: “Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei - For us and our children after us,” and six core cultural values:

- Whānaungatanga (family)
- Manaakitanga (looking after people)
- Tohungatanga (expertise)
- Kaitiakitanga (stewardship)
- Tikanga (appropriate action)
- Rangatiratanga (leadership)

The executive functions of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu are carried out by the Office of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, which manages representational activities, protects the rights of Ngāi Tahu and delivers social and cultural programmes, and Ngāi Tahu Holdings, which manages commercial activities and assets (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2013a).

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is the sole trustee of the Ngāi Tahu Charitable Trust, which owns and operates Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporation and its subsidiary companies. The purpose of the Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporation is to grow the asset base and create revenue to support increasing levels of distribution on an intergenerational basis (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2013e). In 2013, Ngāi Tahu Holdings produced a net operating surplus of \$50.86 m and increased its total assets to \$1.032 billion and paid \$17.3 million in distributions to the Office of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Papatipu Rūnanga and whānau. Ngāi Tahu Holdings Corporation has subsidiary companies in property, seafood, tourism and capital investments.

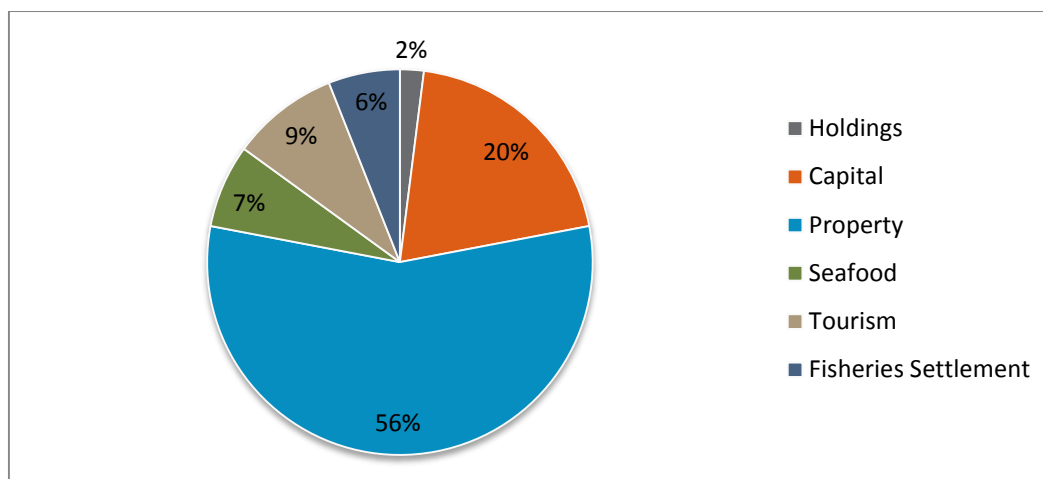


Figure 6 Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu 2013 Assets by Business Sector

The Office of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has invested \$290 million in tribal development since settlement. Distributions are aligned with the key tribal aspirations outlined in the Ngāi Tahu 2025 vision document.

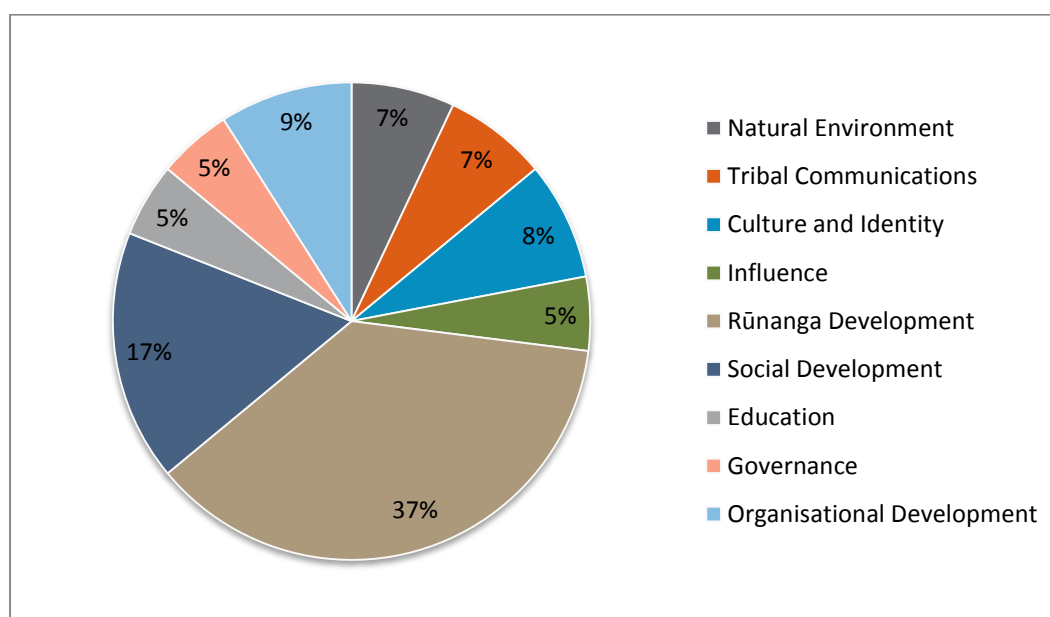


Figure 7 Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu 2013 Distributions

The Office of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu creates value or distributes benefits to its 49,500 registered iwi members. A key focus is the iwi's cultural strategy, *Manawa Whenua*, *Manawa Reo*, *Manawa Kāi Tahu*, and its Māori language revitalisation strategy, *Kotahi Mano Kāika*. \$1.8 million was spent in 2013 on cultural revitalisation with a large proportion of funds

supporting whānau and community led projects through the Ngāi Tahu Fund. \$1.6 million was spent in 2013 on tribal events, publications and communications, to connect iwi members to their culture. A Marae³⁴ development fund and operations grants to Papatipu Rūnanga totalled \$12.2 million in 2013, with \$1 million spent on growing iwi political influence and \$1.3 million on environmental protection and enhancement. 18,055 iwi members are enrolled in the tribal financial savings scheme, Whai Rawa, designed to support financial literacy. The funds can be drawn down to support tertiary education, purchasing a home or retirement, and form a large part of the \$5 million spent on whānau development in 2013. A further \$1.5 million was spent on education initiatives and included a range of scholarships, leadership development, and partnership activities to enhance Ngāi Tahu educational success.

³⁴ Carved meeting house.



Figure 8 Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Organisational Structure

Summary

Ngāi Tahu are significantly stronger economically, politically and culturally since settlement. The settlement codified Ngāi Tahu into a new form of political organisation and legal identity. The newly re-established economic base was accompanied by a centralised tribal governance structure resulting in a clear and articulate political voice for iwi aspirations. Today Ngāi Tahu are an unavoidable political voice within their own region and at a national level with central government, and are making progress across a range of fronts in pursuing a

Ngāi Tahu led development agenda. Despite these gains, there are still tensions within the organisation as it strives to build stronger strategic alignment across the group and ensure Ngāi Tahu cultural values drive the iwi's activities. In the first decade, Ngāi Tahu focused heavily on the complexity of implementing the settlement and adapting to its new governance and organisational structure. The organisation has adjusted well to working within the mainstream but these same gains have resulted in some fears of the 'corporatisation' of the tribe and the seeming incompatibility of a corporate structure with Ngāi Tahu cultural values. There is widespread belief that mimicking Western organisational structures and their associated cultural beliefs risks further assimilation. Having established a stable commercial and political platform, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is increasingly focusing on fully incorporating Ngāi Tahu principles, values and aspirations across the entire organisation.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu findings

The research findings emerged from analysis of the data drawn from 17 primary informants. The data from the primary informants was incorporated into the In-vivo analysis and directed analysis relating to the research questions. The 17 primary informants included 9 respondent types. The data from these three respondents groups was each analysed as a cluster. The findings present the emergent themes from analysis of data from these three Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu groups; Community and Elders, Indigenous Staff and Non-indigenous Staff.

All participants were eager to engage in the research. The researcher is also of Ngāi Tahu descent and had an existing relationship with all participants prior to them being interviewed. Participants were eager to share their opinions and relished an opportunity to discuss their views regarding the organisation. Having a pre-established relationship helped encourage participation, but maintaining confidentiality was also a key concern for staff involved. Many of the community leaders and elders were also heavily involved in settling the Ngāi Tahu claim and gave a rich narrative of the historical context of the organisation.

This section presents the summary, or top-level categories that emerged from an inductive qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts of the three respondent groups using grounded theory methods. The following headings are paraphrases taken from the data to preserve the voice of participants with the strongest themes appearing first. Detailed descriptions are provided for each top-level category.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu community and elders

‘Excuse me this is your Captain speaking’

Ngāi Tahu elders felt the tribe was no longer behaving like an owner. Fears the tribe had lost control of the agenda of the organisation were attributed to its ‘inside voice being turned low’, which had resulted in the owner being converted to a beneficiary:

Our problem is, we don’t behave like owners should because we’re not very intelligent about how we manage those governing rules (indigenous elder).

The tribe is seen to lack the confidence to really own its narrative and needed to reassert its ownership responsibilities and reclaim control:

Ngāi Tahu's got to wear its own clothes, choose its own, and do it for its own reasons that because it speaks to its own story on its own terms (indigenous leader).

The importance of Ngāi Tahu having ownership of its agenda is linked to the need for a different economic model. The tribe needs a continual growth model to maintain capital inter-generationally:

If you accept that the purpose for which they exist is the inter-generational maintenance of their heritage and identity, then you need an economic model that supports that argument. You've got to have an economic model, which is different from the Western one around us because all of that comes to a stop every funeral (indigenous elder).

Tribal ownership of the agenda is seen as pivotal to ensuring intergenerational wealth to sustain cultural identity inter-generationally.

'Adverse selection process'

There were strong feelings that there was a 'wrong ethnic balance' within the organisation. Early on the tribe adopted a 'best person for the job' strategy, as it did not have the skills it required internally. This has positioned non-Māori in positions of influence whereby they are in charge of selection processes:

They see more value in when they look at them through their eyes; they see a mirror of themselves and unfortunately, that mirror's shaded (indigenous community leader).

The selection processes seem to count against Ngāi Tahu staff who often 'don't have that piece of paper' and creates the perception that having whakapapa is a deficit to working for the tribe:

I said, well it seems to me that having a Ngāi Tahu whakapapa is a major deficit to finding a job around here. And that's not true. I said, well that's what a lot of our people are starting to say (indigenous elder).

Fears that Ngāi Tahu could potentially colonise themselves through adverse selection processes prompted calls for a shift to a preferential model and the need for better succession planning to build leadership capacity.

‘Driving a Ferrari like a Land Rover’

The Ngāi Tahu Claim had visionary leaders who set out a fifty year vision for the tribe’s development. At the same time, these leaders had to design a model that could mimic the best attributes of Western models to ensure success. The organisational model is seen as overly complex and is only partway through its journey to maturity:

They built us a high-performance Ferrari and we were driving it like a Series 1 Land Rover at the time that I turned up. We were still crunching the gears, and, but it was so complex that no one could service the thing (indigenous leader).

Despite its perceived imperfections, this model is seen as the ‘best fit that we’ve got’.

The structure itself has been a diversion for the tribe with it being blamed as the source of the tribe’s development problems, which have often been political in nature. The organisation is seen as on the cusp of shifting to the next model with the answers coming from within the building rather than from outside.

‘Can’t expect Pākehā to be Māori’

Ngāi Tahu Holdings are seen as vastly different from the rest of the organisation. The Holdings Corporation are seen as ‘hard core commercial’ with an entirely different mindset that reflects Pākehā cultural values resulting with them operating in a Pākehā way.

This separation is seen to create a divide between Māori and Pākehā staff, with Pākehā staff struggling to understand Ngāi Tahu values:

But I suspect the other subsidiaries or investments they don’t know how to spell it or don’t know what it means, so if you don’t know how to spell it or don’t know actually what manaaki means then hey you haven’t got a chance in hell of being able to buy into it and implement it through your team (indigenous community leader).

Pākehā staff can be fearful of progressing iwi values because of their uncertainty or can over mystify them. In either case, the resulting outcome is the same, whereby Ngāi Tahu cultural values are relegated to being ‘posters on the wall’.

'Drifting closer to genuine values'

The organisation is growing in cultural strength and confidence. Through the tenacity of its Ngāi Tahu staff, the organisation is increasingly seeking to embed cultural values in all of its decision-making, with these values slowly 'filtering through the organisation'. The organisation is seen as more unique now with cultural values central to the organisation's future and cultural integrity:

And so, I go along here about the electoral machinery or aspects of it, but this actually goes far deeper I think, so the seeds of our destruction are in the ignoring or not reclaiming our roots (indigenous leader).

Part of the challenge is to embed cultural values into the reporting frameworks to visualise the social and cultural indicators of success. Although there is still some way to go, there is acknowledgement that it is getting easier and the values are gaining momentum within the organisation.

'David and Goliath doesn't do it justice'

The accomplishment of settling the Ngāi Tahu Claim still astounds those involved today. At a time when Ngāi Tahu 'didn't own a stapler', the tribe 'wrote the rules' for the Treaty settlement process. The entire experience is described as 'a bit Alice in Wonderland':

It was really intense hard stuff at whole lot of levels and we didn't have many resources compared to the resources on the other side, but we did have this pure social justice claim driver. We had the tipuna on our side; we had the story of injustice and right on our side (indigenous leader).

These leaders had a 'pure social justice driver' and were focused on building social capital for the tribe. They acknowledge their ambitions were only matched by the complexity of the task at hand. Although they recognise you cannot deliver on every aspiration; there is acknowledgement, it was a 'fascinating space' to be involved with.

'Need to reach out'

There is a recognised need to reach out and create spaces for genuine conversations concerning the tribe's future. There is a lack of 'grooming ideas' within the tribe and no 'exercising group imagination', which are both seen as critical to the longevity of the

collective. The need for creative thought and future thinking is also tied with the need to engage youth to ensure a core mass of people is maintained, and to ‘reclaim the capacity to imagine’.

The desire to ‘reach out’ is also linked with the need to find a beneficial balance between the centre and the regions. It is seen that it is ‘time to look outside the centre’ to develop local wealth creation, and develop Rūnanga economies.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu indigenous staff

‘Show us tribal best practice’

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu operates in a ‘rules- based world’ and is bound by regulation due to its charitable status. These constraints are accompanied by an ‘indigenous vacuum’, where large numbers of non-indigenous staff struggle to understand the Ngāi Tahu worldview, and find cultural values foreign. This context has resulted in the tribe adopting Western models of best practice with the tribal organisational structure modelled on local government. Adopting Western technical tools has unintentionally resulted in also adopting Western cultural values and practices into the organisation. Māori staff, feel the organisation is ‘stuck in a Western framework’ and are frustrated by the fact that the cultural capital of the tribe is not better articulated into practices. There is a strong desire to see models of practice that are informed by indigenous cultural values:

And so we’ve had some pretty frank discussions at the boards where board members have said this isn’t governance best practice, and they’ve had it proposed to them, well when you show us the governance best practice book for a tribal organisation then we’ll follow that (indigenous staff member).

Some Pākehā staff are seen to struggle with the mind shift and ‘default back to what they know best’ when ambiguity occurs, as they are ‘used to operating in that mode’. Tension is created by these two different value systems co-existing within the organisation and feelings that the Western technical systems adopted is ‘controlling more than the pūtea’.

'Message gets watered down'

The nature of the Rūnanga representative models results in promoting 'good village leaders', but they often struggle to 'see the bigger picture'. Tribal governors are viewed as the cultural capital of the tribe but rely on formal mechanisms such as Letters of Expectation, or appointing Ngāi Tahu board members to subsidiaries to communicate tribal aspirations. The Letter of Expectation often becomes 'redundant' due to 'out of kilter planning processes' and putting 'tokens Tahu's' is also seen as unsuccessful as tribal aspirations are filtered out or 'watered down':

So we think that we can just put a Ngāi Tahu person in- there, and that will make the difference. If it doesn't come into the hearts of the rest of the board, then all we've done is we've put a token Ngāi Tahu in there to speak up on our behalf from time to time (indigenous staff member).

Without strong and capable governance, the tribal influence over the commercial entities is severely weakened. This is further complicated by governors largely 'rubber stamping strategy', and their focus on the tribal political structure, which is not seen as 'the best way to drive cultural outcomes'.

'Success is a vibrant tribe'

Tribal strategy is seen as needing to 'benefit the people' and is strongly grounding in notions of social justice and emancipation. This focus on generating social returns is to be achieved through enabling and empowering whānau and is rooted in the tribal philosophy of 'a hand up not a hand out'. The goal is constructed of 'layers of success' recognising the complexities of achieving and measuring social impacts:

There are so many implications on enabling that outcome to get to you know it' destination and that's why I think it's difficult (indigenous staff member).

The many variables on enabling social outcomes make it 'easier to stick with quantitative outcomes' and are a significant challenge in achieving tribal vibrancy.

'Our grandchildren are the silent voice'

Ngāi Tahu are now 'here to stay' being firmly entrenched in their environment and in a position of strength and expect to endure long into the future. Key to the tribe's longevity is

maintaining the tribe's collective capital inter-generationally. There is a strong burden of responsibility and pressure to safeguard collective assets and 'not lose the money' as you 'can only spend it once'.

The tribe is on a 'massive inter-generational journey' but struggles with finding the patience needed for a long-term vision and instead 'want to sprint on everything'. The tension to fund social outcomes now, is identified as potentially being to the detriment of the tribe's economic future and is seen as akin to 'stealing from our grandchildren':

There is us and there are our children but the silent voice is the grandchildren. And that if we lose sight of the grandchildren's voice for the noisy people, who are able to speak for themselves today, then the dream of what we had may or may not come to fruition (indigenous staff member).

The organisation needs to remind itself it is part of something much larger and must be much more patient in order to achieve the tribal dream inter-generationally.

'Balancing a mixed model'

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is very complex as it mixes seemingly opposing goals. The organisation has developed a mixed model combining 'a pure corporate with social service delivery' in order to maintain capital inter-generationally to sustain cultural identity inter-generationally:

Also being totally mindful that most charitable organisations of which we are a charitable organisation don't create their own wealth. So we create and distribute wealth, whereas most charities receive their funding from external sources. So we are constantly having to juggle those two things (indigenous staff member).

The complexity of the struggle to balance conflicting goals creates great tension within the organisation. This tension often results in indigenous staff feeling 'set up to fail', burnt out or 'ending up fighting each other' due to them having to negotiate 'uncomfortable spaces' caused the complexities of a mixed model.

'Economic power enhances rangatiratanga'

Ngāi Tahu's economic success is enabling the tribe to rebuild its power base. The local business community is strongly brand-orientated, and early on Ngāi Tahu sought to convince the southern economy that it was trustworthy. To achieve this goal the tribe constructed 'brand Ngāi Tahu' strongly linked with elements of the majority culture. This strategy proved successful, with the external community believing Ngāi Tahu are 'good Māori' who 'aren't too out there' and associate financial gains with success, even though this is not what Ngāi Tahu aspires to.

Ngāi Tahu understand how to use this brand to rebuild the tribal economic base, which is seen as the key to re-establishing the tribe's political clout. Ngāi Tahu's growth is now unlocking further potential to shift its attentions to influence greater outcomes through leveraging its economic and political weight:

We've done, we've upheld in a growing our role in upholding the mana of Ngāi Tahu as an iwi by using both our political, social, and economic clout to do all those things (indigenous staff member).

Reclaiming a strong tribal economic base is seen as a precursor for re-establishing tribal political power and is the key enabler for tribal aspirations to be back in a dominant position within their region. There is excitement of the potential to get into a position where 'in a hundred year they will be paying taxes to us'.

'Weaving cultural change'

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is in the process of developing its own 'mini-culture'. The organisation has reached a turning point where it is able to place greater emphasis on growing its cultural base and confidence. A more explicit focus on infusing a sense of cultural connection is permeating the organisation as it seeks to 'weave in a cultural way of being'.

This change is being led by a stronger Ngāi Tahu presence led by staff who have 'a passion in their belly for Ngāi Tahutanga'. Many of these Ngāi Tahu staff have been 'born into whānau values', where cultural values 'aren't pontificated' but something innate 'you feel in your puku'. These indigenous staff members understand 'who we are, and what we want to be', and feel a strong 'whakapapa obligation' to give back to the iwi, through serving the organisation.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu non-indigenous staff

'It's not black and white'

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu being 'tightly geared' and 'overly complex', makes it's a difficult environment for non-indigenous staff. The organisation is seen as a 'mini government' due to its wide scope and struggles to address the breadth of tribal expectations. Non-indigenous staff can find themselves 'bamboozled by structure' as they try to negotiate the complexity of an environment where decision- making can be diffused and power informal:

So it's way more complex here than I've seen in any other organisation I've worked in about how decisions get made and who makes them (non-indigenous staff member).

Success is seen to be 'empowering the grass roots', yet the organisation only measures financial progress putting 'dollars and cents into the report' because it struggles to measure intangibles such as the growth of culture. The overall complexity of this environment makes it hard for non-indigenous staff, and can detract from the goals the organisation is trying to achieve:

We spend a lot of time dealing with our own internal complexity, when maybe we'd be better trying to do things for Ngāi Tahu whānui to meet those aspirations that they've identified (non-indigenous staff member).

'Moving to the next stage'

There is strong agreement that the organisation is on the cusp of moving to the next phase in its evolution. The initial structure was seen as flawed but still better than the alternatives. This structure did provide a template of robust systems and processes that have built a strong base for Ngāi Tahu to cope with change and to build its ability to lead. The organisation has 'gained a lot of ground' and is now in a position where it can 'start to dabble' to overcome some of its constraints. Non-indigenous staff have already started to see the shift but recognise the organisation still needs to keep evolving further to better 'fit its purpose':

But you know so there are constraints from the legal framework but they are I think largely within our control and I'd really be interested in how, how those constraints will evolve over time to more appropriately support what Ngāi Tahu's trying to do in those aspirations and goals which are not just financial, yeah (non-indigenous staff member).

The organisation is perceived as quite risk averse and it is recognised that strong leaders and entrepreneurs are needed to continue the momentum of change, as these individuals will ensure processes are designed to meet Ngāi Tahu needs.

'Rules of the game'

Non-Indigenous staff felt the structure can actually work against the organisation and make it harder to achieve iwi aspirations. The structure is seen as a construct established by government and 'bound by convention' to fit a Pākehā system rather than designed to meet iwi expectations. To survive, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has to work within a Pākehā world but the consequence of this has been that the social norms of this culture have been internalised by the organisation:

And by putting in place those frameworks then we, we live with them and that becomes the norm and that becomes sort of the rules of the game and whilst we can change them you know it's not that easy (non-indigenous staff member).

Pākehā staff bring their own existing sets of core behaviours into the organisation and are often not convinced of a different path or way of doing things. Some of these staff are 'Pākehā selling to Pākehā' and are able to just 'do their job' or 'just tick that box' with little or no emphasis on Ngāi Tahu culture.

You know I mean, the organisation does employ Pākehā people and I suppose it's not necessarily something that you have to go to but it's, you know, if you want to embrace it, you can, if you don't, then you get on with your day job (non-indigenous staff member).

The pervasiveness of these 'rules of the game' is also supported by a lack of kotahitanga (unity) with 'silos used to doing their own thing' and attempts to separate the iwi from its businesses.

'Swinging back to culture'

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is a space with competing cultural values that often collide. This values mismatch is most commonly associated with competing commercial and cultural interests. This tension has been easing as communication across the organisation has improved enabling discussion to focus on finding ways to better balance two differing imperatives:

It's about finding a way to merge both really, and somehow merge, so we're only one entity and not schizophrenic in any way (non-indigenous staff member).

Ngāi Tahu culture is having an increasingly stronger role within the organisation, staff are embracing the culture more, values are seen to flow through the organisation and these values are now being institutionalised into the organisation's processes:

So certainly had an influence but maybe it's swinging, starting to swing back some of the other way where we're getting a bit more culture embedded through organisations (non-indigenous staff member).

There is a stronger focus on making Ngāi Tahu cultural values real and giving them life within the organisation.

'Flexing its muscles'

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu is now accepted as a 'key player in New Zealand Inc.' and being an iwi has now become a major source of strength for the organisation. Although there have been tensions concerning adopting a corporate model, the structure itself is well understood by the wider society and is seen to be fit to play 'in a complex world'. The structure and the money it has generated are seen as 'components of power' supporting Ngāi Tahu to fit into a political and business world:

Te Rūnanga's been focused on making money, on ensuring that its structures are in place figuring out who the hell it is and where it fits in the wider world, in the business world, in the Pakeha world, the political world. It's still doing that (non-indigenous staff member).

This political strength has now positioned the iwi as 'a force to be reckoned with' and the tribe is grappling with how it can use its political influence 'as a means to an end' and

influence positive outcomes for Māori. Non-indigenous staff appreciate that the iwi aims high in so many areas and seeks to have a meaningful impact for so many:

You know they want to control everything and be influential in every conversation, which, I love, you know (non-indigenous staff member).

The aim is really high where they want to take this is really, you know, really to a very high standard of influence and impact which is tremendous, you know (non-indigenous staff member).

The re-establishment of the tribe's economic base has seen equal growth of the tribe's political power and it is now seen as a leader and partner of choice within its own region and nationally. The opportunity to use this newfound power for good is intoxicating for non-indigenous staff who feel work is 'more than a job' and have a 'real heart commitment' towards 'achieving worthy aspirations'.

'Being a placeholder is difficult'

Being Pākehā in a Māori organisation can be discomfoting at times. Early on the iwi did not have all of the specialist skills or intellectual grunt it needed internally and so it sought out external expertise, which has resulted in Ngāi Tahu being a minority amongst staff. Non-indigenous staff feel they lack the moral authority of iwi members and struggle with the some of the ambiguity concerning cultural values. These values are seen as 'purposefully mysterious' at times as they are not clearly explained or carried out which creates confusion. Pākehā have also experienced Māori staff using cultural values to 'penalise people':

I think you bet ambiguity everywhere but I think it's just kind of amplified here for some reason. And there's, I think there's for the Pākehā staff, there's just a general uncertainty day to day anyway because of a real lack of understanding about everything. About tikanga, about values, even about the organisation and how the whole thing came to be, you know all the different parts to it... You know, you get in here and you see, well you don't see them but and yet, they're a central part of this whole thing. So yeah. I think day to day people freaked out generally (non-indigenous staff member).

The uncertainty around values creates the sense that they are unattainable for Pākehā staff and contributes to fears of ‘saying the wrong thing’ and being ‘too sacred to admit a lack of understanding’.

Similarities across the respondent groups

This section outlines the dominant conceptual themes that emerged across all three of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu respondent groups; Community and Elders, Indigenous Staff and Non-indigenous Staff. The most dominant conceptual themes are first.

‘The answers not outside the building’

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu has to operate in a Pākehā world and in order to succeed it must follow ‘the rules of the game’. In adopting Western technical tools, the tribe has also adopted Western cultural values. Through using external advisors and with a lack of indigenous models of ‘best practice’, the organisation has become socially normed to Western cultural practices creating fears Ngāi Tahu has lost ownership of its agenda:

We’d always got to Bell Gully and say can we do this, would we be allowed to do that, what you think about the other, what the lawyer’s said. So we gave away ownership of our own narrative, of our own back-story and also our own conception of the future for a long time and guess what happens (indigenous leader).

The Western frameworks adopted by the tribe have become normalised within the organisation, which struggles to change and evolve new modes of practice that are grounded in cultural values. Rather than looking externally the tribe seeks to grow its confidence to develop its own modes of ‘best practice’ whereby the tribe’s cultural capital is clearly translated in organisational practice.

‘Enabling self-determination’

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu’s roots are firmly anchored in the struggle for social justice for its people as set out in the Ngāi Tahu claim. The tribal mantra of a ‘hand up, not a hand out’ still guides the philosophical approach of empowering whānau and Rūnanga to achieve their own aspirations:

The second thing though is if we are true to our cause of our people reaching the point of their, enabling our people to work towards their aspirations, their outcomes, our goal

is to work towards enabling that, enabling them to meet their sense of self-determination. You cannot do that from within here (indigenous staff member).

There is recognition the organisation must be careful not to replace the Crown by colonising or dictating its own communities but instead fulfil the role of an enabler and support the emancipation of whānau. A key challenge to this social change agenda is the ability to track and measure social indicators of wellbeing, the lack of which results in the tribe measuring success through ‘dollars and cents’ rather than meaningful and positive social impacts.

‘Infusing culture’

As the organisation reaches a level of maturity, greater attention is being paid to infusing cultural values and behaviours into the practices of the institution. The organisation is building its understanding of how cultural values can be translated into practice and figuring out how they can be more manifest in a contemporary setting. Much of the discussion states cultural values were more present early on and have been overtaken by an economic development agenda. As the organisation consolidates a newly re-formed tribal economic base, its attention is returning to weaving Ngāi Tahu culture into practice.

‘It’s foreign to them’

Despite a strong push from governance towards infusing cultural values into the organisation, there is a significant breakdown when it comes translating these values into practice. The high numbers of non-indigenous staff mean there are few people that have a strong grasp of the deeper meanings of Ngāi Tahu culture. Ngāi Tahu staff feel cultural values are innate and something that you ‘feel in your puku’. Without clear articulation or any real explanation and support, Pākehā staff feel values are ‘purposefully mysterious’ and ‘unattainable’ making it challenging to implement in practice:

A probably unrealistic expectation because those people on the behavioural aspect, it’s not their world view to expect them to try and drive and change what you know have, what are essentially pure corporate commercial organisations operate under a whole new world view when they don't have any clear reference points, models and they are isolated in a way largely from their shareholding stakeholders (indigenous staff member).

Without clear guidance, Pākehā staff often ‘default to what they know’ resulting in cultural slippage and tension concerning cultural change within the organisation.

‘Competing values collide’

There are cross-cultural tensions within Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. The organisation is seen as hugely complex and unique in that it both creates wealth and then distributes it for charitable purposes. These two seemingly contrasting functions are also associated with opposing cultural worldviews. The Holdings Corporation is seen as dominated by Pākehā cultural values, whereas the distribution arm is seen to more strongly reflect Ngāi Tahu cultural values:

I think over time there will be a stronger place for cultural values and I think at the moment there’s a fair bit of debate doing on around commercial success versus cultural values (non-indigenous staff member).

These competing commercial and cultural imperatives and the contrasting cultural worldviews that are associated with them are a significant source of tension and result in a cultural clash regarding the direction, values and practices of the organisation.

Differences between the respondent groups

This section outlines the dominant differences and contrasts in conceptual themes between the three Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu respondent groups; Community and Elders, Indigenous Staff and Non-indigenous Staff. The strongest differences are first.

‘Freak out day to day’

Ngāi Tahu community leaders and elders spoke about the ‘adverse selection process’, which disadvantaged Ngāi Tahu applicants in gaining roles with the organisation and promotion to higher levels of leadership. This contrasted with non-indigenous staff who spoke about the strong tensions caused by ambiguity around cultural values, what the mean in practice and the fears of getting it wrong:

I think you get ambiguity everywhere but I think it’s just kind of amplified here for some reason. And there’s I think there’s for the Pākehā staff there’s just a general uncertainty day to day anyway because of a real lack of understanding about everything (non-indigenous staff member).

Pākehā staff felt terrified of being ‘dragged over hot coals’ for ‘getting it wrong’. Without explanation or support, Pākehā staff felt cultural values were often used in a punitive manner ‘as a weapon’, which caused significant anxiety for non-indigenous staff.

‘True north is behind us’

Ngāi Tahu community leaders and elders felt the organisation had gone backwards in terms of ownership of its narrative and agenda. Settlement leaders were seen to have developed strategy from the grass roots up with key visionary leaders translating tribal aspirations into the Holdings Corporation. There is a perceived lack of control and resistance to exercise ownership responsibility over the Holdings Corporation. The tribe is seen as ‘too hands off’ with ‘the outside voice turned too loud and the inside voice turned too low’:

The owner knows who it is, the owner knows what it wants, and that’s what the owner expects and we don’t expect correspondence to be entered into, we’re after conversation but we don’t expect an argument or a fight about it (indigenous elder).

There were strong concerns from this group that the owner had been converted into a beneficiary and that the tribe needed to look back to the intent of the settlement and then tribal aspirations and start ‘behaving like owners’ again.

‘The structure is a diversion’

Both indigenous and non-indigenous staff attribute much of the tension within the organisation to its corporate structure. Ngāi Tahu community leaders and elders believed structural tension were more a symptom of the broader complexities of an iwi organisation and there was no perfect structural solution or model to adequately address the iwi’s needs:

So structure. So we fixated about this, copy this, copy that, what is, we treated this very naively. What’s the perfect answer? There’s no perfect answer and there’s no perfect answer on the shelf anywhere for Ngāi Tahu (indigenous leader).

So structure’s been a real diversion for us. We’ve been very simplistic about it. We’ve beaten ourselves up over it. Done ourselves a lot of damage, cost ourselves a lot of money (indigenous leader).

Community leaders and elders believed the structure has become a diversion from what are really political issues and tensions. The tensions within the structure are positioned as reflections of tensions within the Ngāi Tahu community and its leadership so it is seen as a symptom rather than the chief cause of the organisations tensions.

‘No quality control over governance’

Both indigenous and non-indigenous staff noted the capability of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu representatives is an issue. The selection process results in strong grassroots leaders being selected to sit at ‘the table’ but these leaders struggle to see ‘the bigger picture’ or influence change:

So you know we have really good people coming out of the communities that are good village leaders you know but they haven’t had a lot of experience at a lot of bigger picture thinking (indigenous staff member).

This has resulted in a highly politicised governance structure, which raises concerns whether ‘political structures are the right way to achieve cultural outcomes’.

Summary

This chapter, the third of three case studies, focused on Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu of New Zealand. This chapter began with a description of the case, outlining the historical and cultural context of the case, to situation the case and the findings within the cultural context of the research setting. The chapter concluded with a description of the key findings and theoretical concepts that emerged from the detailed inductive qualitative analysis of the transcripts of primary informants using grounded theory methods. The next chapter focuses on the discussion and key findings.

Chapter 7: Discussion of key findings

This chapter is presented in three parts. The first part presents an analysis of the similarities and differences between the international case studies (Sealaska and Kamehamhea Schools). The second part presents an analysis of the similarities and differences between the international case studies as a block and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. The third part presents a summary of the key emergent themes from across all of the data.

Analysis of international cases

This, the first of three parts of this chapter, presents the key similarities and differences between the two international case studies, Sealaska and Kamehameha Schools.

Similarities across the international cases

This section outlines the similarities across the conceptual themes of the Sealaska and Kamehameha Schools cases.

‘Investing in culture’

Both organisations have committed to make a more conscious and deliberate investment in culture and are in the process of transitioning towards a more culturally attuned paradigm. Culture has become more central to organisational decision-making with indigenous cultural values being steadily codified into policy and made more visible in everyday activities within the organisation. As these indigenous organisations have stabilised their economic returns and political position, greater space has been afforded to examine the institutions’ identity as an indigenous entity and conversation on what that means today. Despite widespread support of the importance of cultural values, most are often unable to articulate how that translates into policy and an organisational context. Yet, cultural champions have emerged willing to navigate through the ambiguity and forge new ways of doing and knowing. Whilst both organisations have their own tensions with elements of their own communities, all respondent groups recognised that a ‘corner has been turned’ and it is just a matter of how and when they

reach their intended destination where they, as an organisation, are secure and grounded in their cultural identity.

'Balancing two worlds'

Both organisations identified a clear tension between Western corporate norms and indigenous cultural values. These indigenous institutions straddle two worlds and the struggle to intertwine and enmesh the organisations with two at times opposing worldviews creates complexity. The Western economic complex is a reality they cannot avoid and their successes have largely come from adapting and succeeding in this economic context. These same successes have given rise to criticisms from their communities concerned that they are becoming Westernised and these commercial successes come at the loss of their cultural integrity. In both cases, cultural values are increasingly permeating the commercial as well as development activities; with smaller units created, with a mandate to deviate from profit maximisation, to develop economic returns inclusive of greater social and cultural benefits. The evidence shows the learning of these champion units are flowing through to affect change in other parts of the organisation and become a clear space where previously contrasting economic and social/cultural development priorities are now being balanced.

'It's hard to deviate'

There were strong feelings of frustration as neither community deliberately chose the model they have inherited. The structure is often identified as being at the heart of the cultural tensions with strong feelings of resentment against a 'foreign concept'. Legal, economic, and political contexts are seen as placing constraints on the indigenisation of these institutions and are the primary impediment to change. Indigenous staff in particular express their frustration at the slow pace of change of these indigenous 'bureaucracies' and the cultural norming influences of their Western contexts which they feel seek to limit the cultural evolution of the organisation.

'Structure can't be our scapegoat'

Across both cases, the structure was blamed for much of the tension, yet few of the actual tensions identified were really structural in nature. Cultural tensions or governance issues are perceived as structural problems. Yet, the problems faced cannot be fully resolved by structure. The issues largely stemmed from an underlying tension of having conflicting goals, a profit maximisation mission and a social and cultural mission, which result in incredibly

complex and politicised organisations. The breadth of activities and the makeup of the beneficiary communities meant that the organisations were spread very thin trying to accommodate the breadth of community expectations. Keeping such a large pool of ‘captive shareholders’ happy created real challenges and tensions but the problems were usually ascribed to structural causes or ‘the model’ rather than reflecting some of the more unique attributes of their communities and demands.

‘What about the other pieces’

In both contexts, the organisations were described as one piece of the puzzle with a broader grouping of indigenous institutions, each seeking to contribute to one or more aspects of indigenous wellbeing. Despite alignment of goals, there were frustrations that greater collaboration was not occurring across these networks of indigenous institutions. In both cases, the organisation is the most politically powerful institution due to the size of their asset- base, yet political representation sat with less powerful tribal councils in the Alaskan case or was unresolved as in the Hawaiian case. The fragmentation of indigenous economic strength from political voice raised questions amongst respondents regarding whether the organisation should move beyond current roles to take greater leadership in areas beyond its mandate. All agreed it was a matter that needed to be addressed to better realise the potential for indigenous advancement.

‘It’s not just an institution, it’s a movement’

Both indigenous, and non-indigenous staff found working for the organisations an incredibly rich and rewarding experience. Staff were not purely motivated by salaries or career progression. Staff gained meaning from contributing towards a greater good. Although the complexities and tensions brought their own difficulties, staff felt fortunate to be able to contribute to something greater than themselves and were heavily engaged with the organisation and its mission. Indigenous staff were often ‘born into the organisation’ continuing familial legacies of service and even non-indigenous staff felt greater connected to their own cultural roots through the experience.

Differences between the international cases

This section outlines the differences and contrasts of the conceptual themes between the Sealaska and Kamehameha Schools cases.

'It's our only tribe'

Indigenous staff differed from non-indigenous staff in the way they internalised many of the conflicts and tensions. Sealaska indigenous staff existed in a tribal context based on kinship and blood ties. Sealaska beneficiaries take a much greater interest in the organisation's affairs with the organisation being more central to their identity as the most visible vestige of their tribe. These close family ties resulted in indigenous staff internalising many of the external political conflicts and tensions surrounding the organisation, placing strain on indigenous staff.

Staff of the Kamehameha Schools did not internalise external pressures but brought their own internal identity issues into the organisation. The definition of a beneficiary for Kamehameha Schools was much broader and perhaps less clearly defined. Those who had the greatest interest were typically alumni with those who were not educated at Kamehameha Schools' campuses having much less interest in its affairs. Tensions for indigenous staff were largely internal; their own personal identity crisis, with many indigenous staff linking the struggles of Kamehameha Schools as part of a wider identity crisis and a symptom of the pain of cultural loss and insecurity.

'Battling to become a Hawaiian School'

The obstacles to indigenisation and success were largely external for Sealaska. The corporate model was attributed as the chief barrier to a more culturally rounded definition of success with issues of succession and cultural competence also present. Although the legal, (compliance with Trust law) and economic context were also constraints for Kamehameha Schools, their high proportions of non-indigenous staff meant they faced higher levels of resistance within the organisation. Sealaska's organisational norming influences were external, whereas many of Kamehameha Schools' barriers were internal with indigenous staff having to battle to push a more indigenously aligned agenda.

'Generational tensions'

Generational differences were similar across both cases. Younger generations were seen as having benefited from the cultural renaissance and thereby better grounded in the culture having not directly faced the unpleasant face of racism. However, Sealaska had greater levels of inter-generational tension due to the dynamics of owning shares. Many youth felt the concept of shares, with elders having greater stocks and thereby receiving greater

distributions, individualised benefits from collective assets. The concept of shares was seen to incentivise exclusiveness and although the organisation had agreed to include youth stocks, young people felt the financial distribution model should be removed to collectivise benefits.

‘Becoming more transparent’

Improving transparency was an issue for both organisations but they differed on whether transparency applied to internal communications to staff or external accountabilities to community. Transparency for Kamehameha Schools referred to communicating the rationale behind decision-making to an internal staff audience or was related to working alongside external community partners. Sealaska viewed transparency as being visible and accountable to their village communities and tribal member shareholders. There was both a greater interest from tribal member shareholders in the organisations affairs and clearer lines of accountability to the indigenous community with Sealaska necessitating higher levels of transparency.

Cross case analysis

This section, the second of three parts of this chapter, presents the key similarities and differences between the international case studies (Sealaska and Kamehameha Schools) and the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu case.

Similarities across the cases

This section outlines the similarities across the conceptual themes of the international cases (Sealaska and Kamehameha Schools) and the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu case.

‘No one best way of organising’

All of the communities inherited or adopted Western organisational models. These were designed to achieve a fit with a dominant Western cultural context and facilitate rebuilding an economic base for the indigenous community. The technical tools adopted to facilitate economic development are now perceived to be constraining the organisations’ cultural evolution. The structural elements and organisational practices came loaded with Western cultural values that have been institutionalised within indigenous organisations. The current model creates legitimacy for a dominant Western external culture but creates feelings of

illegitimacy with its own internal indigenous culture and there are both internal and external constraints towards shifting to better address cultural concerns.

There is little clarity of what a better alternative would look like but widespread consensus that a better alternative would be one that is driven from an indigenous worldview. Across cases, ‘the Western corporate structure’ is blamed despite significant variation in organisation design across contexts. The structure is a scapegoat for broader tensions and conflicts that are fundamental to the complex and conflicting purposes of an indigenous organisation.

Although structure is a source of tension, it is not the only source. Blaming the structure distracts the organisation from deeper analysis of its own internal conflicts.

‘Balancing two worlds is problematic’

All three organisations sought to simultaneously fit two very different contexts, a Western political and economic context, and an indigenous political, social, and cultural context. Bridging these two contrasting worlds is both essential to the success of the organisation but also the chief cause of its complexity and tension. The organisations split wealth creation and distribution arms with each reflecting the cultural values of its primary audience; Western or indigenous. Each division was well suited to engage or fit its target community but both struggled to engage with each other due to a cross-cultural mismatch. The organisations responded by ‘fattening’ themselves with additional political and coordinating mechanisms to try to balance the two mindsets and their resulting tensions. All of the organisations had traditionally invested in capability in either one skill-set or the other but all sought to develop greater cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary capability to help the organisation bridge its own internal divide.

‘Indigenising the organisation’

All the organisations are currently in the process of evolving a more culturally grounded organisational paradigm. At inception, these indigenous organisations took on Western structural elements but once they achieved economic and political stability they chose to replace the Western values system they inherited with their own indigenous cultural values. Whilst this has not been fully achieved yet, these Western structural elements are increasingly being indigenised through establishing specific units to pioneer the application of cultural values, cultural revival strategies, and increasing numbers of younger and more culturally confident staff.

‘Need to take a chance on our people’

There were emerging generational tensions across all of the cases. Younger emerging leaders were viewed as critical to taking the organisation ‘to the next level’ as they had received greater opportunities for both personal and cultural development. This ‘new blood’, were seen to have a better marriage of Western technical and indigenous cultural knowledge needed to support the organisations’ evolution and navigate the tensions between two differing cultural mindsets. Emerging leaders were perceived to be disadvantaged by ‘adverse selection procedures’ and a general unwillingness by leaders to ‘take a chance on our people’, instead, promoting non-indigenous candidates. Tensions around generational differences and succession were not significant for non-indigenous participants across the three cases.

‘Corporations concentrate power and give us voice’

Despite some of the tensions that have resulted from adopting Western models of organisation, there were also clearly identified benefits. The corporate model had been very successful in growing the collective economic wealth across the cases. The economic gains made by each institution resulted in similar gains in political influence in their wider societies. The corporate structure collectivised indigenous voice and in doing so centralised power. Wider society understood engagement with a corporate entity better than it did engagement with more traditional and complex modes of indigenous cultural leadership. All three organisations have used their centralised voice as a tool to advocate for indigenous advancement. Rebuilding a collective indigenous economic platform has resulted in the establishment of a stronger indigenous political platform to better influence meaningful outcomes for their communities.

‘Success is more than just the bottom line’

All three organisations were strongly committed to improving the social and cultural wellbeing of their communities but struggled with how to measure their success. The organisations were motivated by a social change agenda and sought to have a catalytic role empowering indigenous communities and families. Defining success is complicated as measuring social impact is much more difficult. Although success was seen as more than just the ‘bottom line’, the organisations found tracking and measuring qualitative measures a significant challenge.

Differences between the cases

This section outlines the differences and contrasts of the conceptual themes between the international cases (Sealaska and Kamehameha Schools) and the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu case.

'Directors are the cultural capital'

In the international cases, a key theme is the ability to participate in governance, the need for greater transparency and greater accountability to stakeholder communities. Selection processes for directors were also an issue, making it hard for individuals to engage in governance. This contributed to a lack of direct accountability to indigenous communities who were frustrated at a lack of dialogue or ability to influence decision-making.

The selection of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu representatives made it easier for tribal members to participate in governance and created stronger accountabilities to tribal village communities. Easier participation in governance, however, resulted in greater politicisation of the roles. Ngāi Tahu election processes were firmly grounded in the village communities and saw the elevation of good 'village leaders'. Ngāi Tahu tensions around governance concern the ability of 'grass roots' leaders and the extent their influence filtered down through the organisation. Challenges for Ngāi Tahu governance were more focused on control rather than transparency, with governors' influence being watered down by multiple levels of subsidiary governance that acted as political buffers that 'watered down the message'.

'Infusing culture'

All three cases are in the process of consciously infusing indigenous cultural programmes into organisational practice. However, this theme was much stronger with the two international case studies, both of whom had clear organisational strategies, policies and leadership championing a process of cultural change for the organisation. A key element of these cultural change programmes is a specially designated cross-disciplinary unit within each organisation that was mandated to operate differently and balance cultural and commercial imperatives. Both units were staffed by highly skilled and culturally literate emerging indigenous leaders who were able to find ways to negotiate tensions. These sites of 'cultural juggling' grew understanding and wisdom, the benefits of which spread to wider parts of the organisation.

‘I believe in the mission’

Non-indigenous staff in the international case studies were highly motivated to work for an indigenous organisation and gained meaning from the ability to be part of something greater than themselves. Staff found the experience very rewarding and were motivated to do well to benefit their local indigenous community and contribute to their collective advancement.

Non-indigenous staff who worked for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, however, experienced anxiety and fear concerning Ngāi Tahu culture. Pākehā staff found it difficult to process Ngāi Tahu cultural values that they felt were not well communicated or role modelled and were fearful of making a mistake. This cultural confusion hindered organisation culture change as Pākehā staff eventually ‘default to what they know’.

Summary of key findings

This section, the third of three parts of this chapter, presents a summary of the key emergent themes across all of the three case studies.

‘An inter-generational journey’

The indigenous organisations were designed to take an intergenerational view because of the nature of their ownership, whereby the shareholder never dies. These institutions seek to maintain collective capital inter-generationally in order to fund the maintenance of indigenous cultural identity and wellbeing inter-generationally. Either goal in itself is challenging but having to balance two conflicting roles makes indigenous organisations unique and incredibly complex.

To maintain capital inter-generationally, indigenous organisations are designed to foster legitimacy with their external dominant economic and cultural context. Achieving a fit with the external economic culture is key to consolidating the collective wealth of the indigenous community for future generations.

To maintain cultural identity inter-generationally, indigenous organisations must be designed to foster cultural legitimacy with their own indigenous cultural values and community.

Indigenous organisations are anchored in a commitment to social justice, emancipating their indigenous community and the preservation of indigenous culture for future generations.

Indigenous organisations walk a tight rope between two cultural contexts. To survive, indigenous organisations must achieve a precarious balance between these two contrasting yet mutually-dependent forces and to do so in a manner that ensures success across multiple future generations.

‘Captive shareholders’

The unique nature of indigenous organisations stems from their collective ownership. The organisations are accountable to a large and diverse indigenous stakeholder community. Membership in this stakeholder community is by descent not choice. People were not collectivised by their adherence to a particular ideal or philosophy but by their commitment to shared cultural heritage. This resulted in an extremely broad spectrum of opinion and expectations that the organisation must respond to, and respond it must, as dissenting voices cannot leave or exit the collective. The pressure to grow assets to match population growth, respond to the diverse and ambitious expectations of the indigenous community and the need to manage dissenting voices creates a complex and tense political environment.

‘The structure is a scapegoat’

The ‘Western corporate structure’ is uniformly blamed as the chief cause of organisational ills despite variation in form across contexts. Each organisation had adopted Western structural tools to consolidate collective wealth and to garner legitimacy with their external economic context. There was little recognition of how a Western structural model supported economic growth. The ‘corporate structure’ centralised indigenous voice and increased indigenous influence in the wider society. The ability to advance an indigenous agenda was reliant on both the economic resources and the political power to influence change. The underlying cause of tension within indigenous organisations is the dissonance between the economic structure with the broader social and cultural change agenda. There is also ambivalence towards the corporate structure and fear its adoption contributes to cultural assimilation.

‘How to do it in an indigenous way’

All three indigenous organisations were initially designed to meet Western cultural legitimacy rather than fit the needs of their indigenous communities. This was partly caused by Western assimilationist processes but resulted from the indigenous communities not knowing a suitable alternative to the models posed. The economic gains made by designing

for an external Western context have come at the expense of legitimacy with their own indigenous communities. As they have matured and consolidated their economic and political bases, the organisations have then turned to indigenising their values, behaviours and practices. These indigenous organisations have kept suitable structural elements but initiated a process to supplant Western values with indigenous values through a cultural change process for the organisation.

Implementing cultural change within the organisation is not easy and meets resistance from both indigenous and non-indigenous staff. Although colonisation does impact the organisation, the chief constraint is an inability to imagine a way of organising or behaving beyond what is already known. Both indigenous and non-indigenous staff struggle with pioneering new ways of doing things and invariably revert to 'business as usual' when things get difficult. Simply put, everyone knows what they don't want to be, a Western corporate, but aren't clear about what a better alternative looks like.

Evidence showed that the cultural change- process needs to be implemented by design rather than in an ad hoc manner. Key enablers included a critical mass of indigenous staff, formalised strategies, cross-disciplinary teams and sites of cultural change.

'Succeeding generations will have to figure it out'

Despite having an inter-generational horizon, the organisations are not well configured to adapt to generational change. The growth of bureaucracy is a symptom of scale and a response to political complexity. They are not able to respond quickly to change and lacked open forums for dialogue. There was a lack of spaces to support evolution of thought and enable the organisation to adapt to change in both its indigenous and external community.

There are emerging differences and tensions across the cases between younger and older generations. Increased opportunities and cultural renaissance had created a generational cohort of emerging leaders whose cultural confidence contributed to an increased dissatisfaction with the cultural dissonance of the organisation. Emerging leaders felt frustrated at perceived adverse selection processes that favoured promoting non-indigenous applicants into leadership roles. The younger generation were generally more frustrated at the pace of cultural change demonstrating a potential future risk for these institutions. The slow

rate of organisational change may suggest future challenges to adapt to inter-generational change and evolution of thought.

'It's a point of connection'

Indigenous organisations are sites of connection and emancipation for indigenous communities. These organisations have evolved to become flagships for the collective advancement and preservation of indigenous cultural identity. Organisational identity is inextricably tied with collective cultural identity and expectations that they are indigenous cultural institutions and should act accordingly. Each case was situated in a history plagued by colonisation where their communities were devastated by severe cultural loss and marginalisation. These indigenous institutions have not only become flagships for collective advancement but sites where indigenous people can connect and contribute to their collective advancement. For many indigenous people who had been disconnected from their culture, these institutions became a means to engage with their own heritage in a meaningful way and provided a strong sense of fulfilment and motivation to advance collective goals.

Chapter summary

This chapter has presented analysis of the similarities and differences between the international case studies (Sealaska and Kamehamhea Schools). This was followed by analysis of the similarities and differences between the international case studies as a block and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. The chapter then concluded with a summary of the key emergent themes from across all of the data. The next chapter will present discussion towards building a theory of indigenous organisations.

Chapter 8: Towards a theory of indigenous organisations

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the key themes. This thesis set out to identify factors that influence the design of indigenous organisations. The evidence shows indigenous organisations are complex in that they need to fit conflicting cultural contexts and balance contradictory purposes to: (a) ensure the maintenance of collective wealth, and (b) safeguard collective cultural identity. This section seeks to discuss these findings and contribute new knowledge concerning indigenous organisation design, how they are different, how they are influenced by context and how they are evolving.

The second section contextualises the findings within the broader literature of organisation theory. This thesis sought to bring indigenous theory and organisation theory together to generate new theory concerning indigenous organisations. This section will examine the application of prevailing organisation theory and point to aspects that cannot be addressed by current theory.

Discussion of the findings

This section, the first of two, focuses on discussing the key themes emerging from the data: (a) the complexities of conflicting cultural contexts, purposes, and measures of success, (b) challenges to the evolution of organisational thought, and (c) the next phase in the evolution of indigenous organisations.

Conflicting contexts

Across the three cases, a key feature of the indigenous organisations was their structuring to execute two contrasting goals: (a) to grow collectively owned wealth inter-generationally to provide a revenue stream, and (b) to invest in the maintenance of collective cultural identity and wellbeing inter-generationally. The success of these two goals was dependent on separate and contradictory contingencies. Wealth creation arms were aligned with a Western economic context, whereas cultural and social distribution arms better fitted an indigenous context. The commonality across contexts was not in the particulars of organisation design

but how organisational features were structured to meet the complexities of their organisational environment; including dual cultural contexts.

Structural contingency theory (Blau, 1970; Burns & Stalker, 1961; Donaldson, 2001; Galbraith, 1973; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Rumelt, 1974; Thompson, 1967; Woodward, 1965) contends there is no one best way of organising across contexts; instead organisation design and structure depends on the nature of the contingencies to which the organisation must relate. Central to this theory is the concept of fit. For an organisation to be effective, its characteristics and features must fit the contingencies in its environment. Therefore, there is no one perfect structure for an organisation as its effectiveness is contingent on achieving the best fit between internal and external variables. Structural contingency theory posits that organisations which achieve a good fit between their internal features and their environment will perform better (Donaldson, 2001; Miles, 2012).

Structural contingency theory argues that organisational structure needs to fit three key contingencies: environment, size and strategy (Donaldson, 2001, p. 3). Critics of the theory have argued that the theory is deterministic with the organisations structure determined solely by its situation (Perrow, 1967, 1980) and a tautology due to its circular logic stemming from the notion of fit (Mohr, 1971; Pennings, 1975). One of the weaknesses of structural contingency theory is that it ignores the relationships between the organisations and the wider cultural context within which it is created. It also ignores the role of organisations as carriers of cultural values (Tayeb, 1987). The findings from this study show that history and culture matter a great deal for indigenous organisations.

The data shows a powerful contingency across the three indigenous cases was colonisation. The three indigenous cases exist in a context where they had been colonised by a dominant Western colonial power. The maintenance of collective indigenous wealth is critical to reclaiming indigenous power. Money is a key component of power in each of the three contexts. To continue to survive in a Western cultural context, indigenous organisations must achieve a fit with their dominant economic, political and Western cultural context. To achieve these ends, indigenous organisations have borrowed or inherited Western structural models and tools to fit a Western economic context.

Each community described their structure, as a 'Western corporate model' yet there was significant variation in organisation across contexts. Rather than there being a particular indigenous organisational structure, each indigenous group utilised Western structural templates relevant to their own contexts. What was common was the importance of these existing models in establishing acceptance within their wider organisational setting. The 'Western corporate structure' has been successful in protecting and growing collective assets for their indigenous communities. The indigenous cases have all prospered and have become economic and political powerhouses. A large part of their success has been utilising existing and socially acceptable models, which has enhanced their legitimacy, power and ability to survive. This supports the notion of 'fit' in structural contingency theory. Not only did the corporate model provide legitimacy, it also ensured performance and growth. All three indigenous organisations have been readily accepted as 'big players' where their social legitimacy and economic influence has turned into power. The corporate structure has also created a legal identity that has centralised indigenous voice and influence. Despite these gains, the evidence shows that these structural models are not 'culture free'. The gains made in enhancing organisational fit with a Western cultural reality have come at the expense of their legitimacy with their own indigenous communities.

Achieving legitimacy with a Western economic context has been detrimental to indigenous cultural aspirations. The external environments for each of the three cases are not culturally neutral; they are Western. The need for the organisation to fit its external environment is not confined to technical variables. To survive, organisations must also fit their cultural context if they are to be accepted and gain credibility (R. W. Scott, Reuf, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000). Organisations that exhibit culturally approved forms and behaviours are more likely to receive approval and support from authorities and other organisations, increasing their chances of survival (Scott, 2014). Social context and social legitimacy are key variables that have influenced the organisation design of the three cases. The three indigenous cases have adopted culturally approved Western models that contribute to building their legitimacy in their external context. These models are not just culture-free technical tools; they represent a broader conformity to wider cultural rituals concerning organisational behaviour. The adoption of Western technical models and tools has resulted in the unintended adoption of Western cultural values.

Conflicting purposes

With the rise of neo-liberalism, the corporate form of organisation has become prevalent across the globe. During this period a particular body of economic theory came to influence business practices, known as the contractarian perspective (Boatwright, 1996; Jensen & Meckling, 1976; J. W. Meyer & Jepperson, 2000; Nilakant & Lips-Wiersma, 2012), which views the organisation as a nexus for contracting relationships. Jensen & Meckling believed we often think of organisations as if they were persons with their own motivations and intentions. Instead, they posed that the firm is a legal fiction that serves as a focus for processes that bring the conflicting objectives of individuals “into equilibrium within a framework of contractual relationships” (1976, p. 311). Here, managers are driven by fiduciary duty and provided with the appropriate incentives to maximise profit and the principal’s welfare. Broader social obligations are seen as detrimental to economic imperatives and ethical and values-based discourses are no longer legitimate (Nilakant & Lips-Wiersma, 2012, p. 74). In contrast indigenous organisations utilise collective wealth to advance their long-term interests and wellbeing. Their primary purpose is to ensure collective cultural identity is maintained in perpetuity. Therefore, the need to grow and maintain capital inter-generationally is driven by the need to fund the growth and production of cultural identity inter-generationally.

Critiques of the contractarian perspective argue these economic theories are devoid of morality or ethics (Ghoshal, 2005). Indigenous organisations differ as there is less of a separation between economics and ethics as shareholder gain is measured through socio-cultural measures alongside profit. Rather than short-term self-interest, there is long-term collective-interest maximisation. The contractarian perspective posits that financial incentives are the only way to curb the self-interested behaviours of managers. This assumes that staff are only motivated by money. Across the indigenous cases, all staff, indigenous and non-indigenous, found meaning in contributing to a collective vision and ‘being part of something greater than ourselves’. Hawaiian staff described working for Kamehameha Schools as ‘kuleana’³⁵ as the organisation is inextricably tied to Hawaiian identity and the legacy of the Hawaiian monarchy. For indigenous staff in Sealaska and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, working for their tribal organisation added another layer of connection to their broader kinship group.

³⁵ A Hawaiian language term meaning one’s personal sense of responsibility.

For indigenous staff, working in an indigenous organisation was not about money but contributing to the advancement of their community.

Indigenous organisations are closer aligned with notions of Corporate Social Responsibility (Kotler & Lee, 2004) where the organisation's responsibilities extend beyond profit maximisation and shareholder value to contribute to social good. Whilst they were described by their own populations as corporate, they are also charitable. In two of the cases (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Kamehameha Schools), the commercial divisions were part of a much broader charitable trust. Sealaska had a charitable arm in the form of the Sealaska Heritage Institute providing a range of social goods to tribal members. Most organisations are clearly identified as a member of either a for-profit or not-for-profit field. The three indigenous cases demonstrate that their purposes differ, as they are more like charities that make their own money for distribution. Their conflicting purposes are vastly different from most other organisations.

Conflicting values

Nkomo (1992) uses the children's fairy tale, 'The Emperors New Clothes', as an allegory for the way scholars have addressed race in organisations. In organisation theory, organisations are normally depicted as homogenous or race-neutral with analysis failing to recognise organisations are culturally constructed. Scott (2008) notes organisations have been treated as if they were culture-free systems and that further examination of the cultural forces and processes has been largely neglected across organisation theory. Meyer and Jepperson (2000, p. 116) discuss how the cultural and religious history of the West is peripheralised as though culture is irrelevant in the modern world. Within the corporate model, culture is treated as the management of diversity (Holvino & Kamp, 2009) rather than more nuanced examination of the relationship between an organisation and its broader cultural context. The historical contexts of all three indigenous cases are underpinned by the dominance of Western colonial cultures where Western culture is normalised to the extent of being invisible and culture is something only 'others' have. Failure to recognise culture in organisational analysis removes the potential to build understanding of how organisations acquire meaning within their cultural context. Similarly, the fallacy of cultural neutrality negates opportunities to examine the deeper power relations within indigenous organisations that sustain or counter colonisation. TribalCrit poses that colonisation is endemic and can be so ingrained in

institutions that it is often invisible (Brayboy, 2006). If indigenous organisations are to offer a way out of colonisation then a more culturally nuanced organisational lens is required to situate the organisation in its cultural context and examine how they are influenced by their broader social context.

Institutional theory seeks to address why all organisations in a field appear to look the same and emphasises the importance of the socio-cultural context to which organisations relate (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; J.W. Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; R.W. Scott, 2008; L.G. Zucker, 1977). Organisations are not culture-free technical systems but human constructs that are situated in a political, social and cultural context (R.W. Scott, 1998). Organisational structures and processes are social constructs that acquire social meaning to the extent that organisations achieve stability through their legitimacy rather than efficiency (Miles, 2012). As Donaldson (2001, p. 167) notes, organisational forms are more ritual than rationale. This drive to attain legitimacy is achieved through the organisation conforming to prescribed models and blueprints of behaviour. This process of social norming results in organisations designing to fit models deemed appropriate by society, irrespective of their suitability to the tasks of the organisation.

Institutional pressures occur at three levels: individual, organisational, and inter-organisational (Oliver, 1997). Broader government, industry and societal expectations define socially acceptable behaviour at an inter-organisational level (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). At an organisational level internal processes and expected modes of behaviour reinforce societal expectations. Within the institution, individuals follow cultural customs, traditions and norms both consciously and unconsciously (P. L. Berger & Luckmann, 1967 as quoted in Miles, 2012). Cultural-cognitive theorists place greater emphasis on the power of these cultural templates of behaviour for actors and action (Shank & Abelson, 1977). Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) focus on the extent broader cultural frames are overlaid upon individual actors within the institution. Berger and Luckmann (1967), use the metaphor of theatre to advance the notion of particular scripts for action that are associated with particular actors:

The institution, with its assemblage of ‘programmed’ actions, is like the unwritten libretto of a drama. The realization of the drama depends upon the reiterated

performance of its prescribed roles by living actors...Neither drama nor institution exist empirically apart from this current realization (pp.73-75).

A cultural-cognitive approach focuses on these culturally embedded guidelines for acting and blueprints for action.

The process of institutionalisation in indigenous organisations would be better described as Westernisation and therefore colonisation. Across the cases, non-indigenous staff were brought in to assist in the establishment and on-going management of these institutions. Many came with pre-written scripts and well-rehearsed roles that institutionalised Western cultural frameworks or organisational behaviour. In two of the three cases (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Kamehameha Schools), indigenous staff are the minority. In these cases, the institutional actors were primarily non-indigenous whose cultural conceptions of the institution were more likely to come from a Western framework of meaning. This was different for Sealaska whose non-indigenous staff were more likely to have been influenced by indigenous norms as they were the minority. Many long-term non-indigenous staff were also adopted into Alaska Native clans, which increased their ties to indigenous culture. Across the cases, the organisations structure, legal and regulatory constraints are seen to westernise the organisation. These are conscious processes; legally enforced and visible. Less obvious, however, are the cultural cognitive processes which are unconscious and taken for granted.

Colonising processes impact on indigenous institutions at the inter-organisational level, organisational and individual level. It is also evident that these colonising processes have shifted and evolved alongside the organisation. Scott (2008) outlines three pillars of institutionalisation: regulative systems, normative systems and cultural-cognitive systems. These pillars form a continuum moving from the visible and conscious constraints to invisible and unconscious assumptions. Early on, the constraints for indigenous organisations were primarily regulatory. At inception, these communities had little power and their structural models were imposed. As indigenous institutions gained power, their institutional challenges or influences became more internalised. Structure is still a challenge across the cases but there is variation to the extent these institutional constraints are internal or external. The complexity of the ANCSA settlement created significant structural constraints for

Sealaska to align with other South East Alaskan entities (e.g. tribal councils) in its region. The unresolved status of federal recognition of Kanaka Maoli as indigenous people of Hawai‘i is still a severe political constraint for Kamehameha Schools. With no protection or recognition of indigenous rights, Kamehameha Schools was heavily regulated by the Probate Court and its admissions policies (targeting Native Hawaiian youth), were a target for false claims of racial discrimination and legal challenge.³⁶ Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu’s structure is created through an independent act of parliament, which minimises structural constraints in comparison. However, with large numbers of non-indigenous staff and a smaller local Māori population, institutional constraints have been internalised into the organisation. Structural restraints have not gone away but the process of institutionalisation has become more subtle over time. In this manner, colonising processes can inhabit a spectrum: external to internal, procedural to cognitive, structural to individual. Colonisation has not stopped at the establishment of the organisation; it has just become more covert and internalised. The breadth and power of these colonising processes is a source of on-going risk and tension for indigenous organisations.

The evidence shows the dual cultural contexts of indigenous organisations are not equal. The Western cultural context is not only dominant; it is dominating in the sense that it is all-powerful and detrimental to an indigenous worldview. The structural models adopted by indigenous organisations were constructed to foster legitimacy with a Western cultural context. Across the cases, design decisions were framed within prevailing Western cultural norms. Indigenous aspirations for self-determination were channelled to select from pre-existing Western structural templates for organisation and behaviour. Such choices were influenced in part by external interests seeking to aid the assimilation of indigenous communities and partly by the indigenous communities themselves unconsciously working within the legal, social and ideological constraints of their colonial context. Both Sealaska and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu were established through a settlement where the government had a strong part in designing how they would be organised. Kamehameha Schools was established through the endowment of Princess Pauahi and as such falls under the jurisdiction of the Probate Court who regulates the institution and manages the appointment process of its

³⁶ Kamehameha School’s Hawaiians only admission policy has been cast as racial discrimination due to a lack a wider Federal recognition of Kanaka Maoli as indigenous people. See John Doe v. Kamehameha 2003.

trustees. Despite goals to advance indigenous emancipation, their establishment shows the indigenous organisations were not free of Western influence.

Douglas North (1990, pp. 4-5) uses the analogy of a game; where institutions set the rules of the game and where organisations act as the players. Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) also discusses the power of these ‘rules of the game’ and their implicit understandings of how the world works. These indigenous organisations were established in accordance with the ‘rules of the game’ because there was little choice and no clear indigenous alternative. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) note that the more ambiguous an organisations goals are or the more uncertain its environment, the greater the extent it will model itself after other organisations that are socially accepted. With little power, a dominating colonial environment and complex challenges, indigenous communities had little chance to resist the powerful regulatory and normative influences that shaped their organisations.

Conflicting measures of success

The indigenous organisations defined success in both formal and informal ways. The formal measures of success were largely framed through ‘Western eyes’ and were focused on commercial returns. Western cultural norms not only influenced how the organisation conceived itself but how they also promoted success outwardly. Indigenous organisations gained power externally through their commercial success, not culture. Their wider social context validates their economic success as it is measured on a Western cultural index. Their legitimacy and power are inherited from achieving in a Western world in Western ways. The power of this external cultural context influences how indigenous organisations define and measure success. Formal measures of success are more inherited than constructed.

It is important to note that being successful in ‘Western eyes’ is beneficial to enhancing the ability of indigenous organisations to advance indigenous interests. The ability to influence positive change is contingent on them being perceived as successful and legitimate by ‘Western eyes’. However, as they consolidate their economic and political power, each organisation has turned to defining success on its own terms.

Each institution also responds to informal measures of success driven by the aspirations and cultural values of their indigenous community. These aspects influence organisation behaviour but are less visible and not as entrenched in policy or procedures. This was not due

to a lack of will but the result of the complexities of measuring social and cultural outcomes. Measuring social outcomes was more complex than reporting on ‘dollars and cents’ causing these measures to be less formalised and institutionalised within the organisation. The three organisations are in different stages of developing and implementing their own metrics for defining and measuring success through ‘indigenous eyes’. The Land Assets Division of Kamehameha Schools developed a sophisticated rubrics system to guide decision- making in ways that balance commercial and cultural priorities. This unit was decoupled from their commercial arm in an exercise of institutional entrepreneurship to operate in a different way. This has proven successful and the wisdom generated from this unit filters into both the for-profit and non-profit arms of the organisation. All three organisations were structuring annual reports around cultural values and seeking to balance or marry financial gains with socio/cultural outcomes.

The complexities of balancing two worlds influenced how success was constructed. Formal measures of success are focused on financial performance, as this is what is valued by the external community. Indigenous organisations do respond to indigenous cultural aspirations but it is more difficult to make these successes visible, as they are largely intangible outcomes. Despite this, indigenous organisations are developing ways to define and measure success in ways that are grounded in indigenous cultural values. How success is conceived is a key component to how the organisation constructs its identity. Although unified in intent, each case was at a different stage of creating new ways of conceiving indigenous success in an indigenous way. In doing so, they don’t seem to support Di Maggio and Powell’s (1983) contention that they would adopt and maintain socially legitimate structures.

Conflicting mindsets

The evidence shows indigenous staff, community leaders and elders felt frustration at a perceived lack of forums to engage in discussion. Internal tensions are a product of the dissonance between hard wired Western cultural norms and indigenous cultural aspirations. There was no single or simple remedy to address competing cultural purposes and their responded managerial approaches. It was difficult to diagnose problems as the cultural values upon which managerial practices were founded were often unconscious assumptions, making them hard to identify and critique (Mills, 2012). Lack of dialogue limited the ability of the indigenous community to challenge these unconscious assumptions, diagnosing them as

Western cultural products, and then enter a conversation as to what indigenous alternatives might look like. Having appropriate space for dialogue is critical to encouraging healthy levels of dissent to ensure assumptions are critiqued and tested. Organisational tension is a symptom of the building pressure for change. This heat comes from the challenge to move from unconscious acceptance of Western norms to conscious attempts to design for indigenous needs.

Not only must the organisation reclaim culture it must also adapt as the culture changes. Definitions of cultural values changed as the mantle of cultural preservation passed from one generation to the next. The organisation was not geared towards the lifespan of an individual, as its cause to sustain cultural identity is long-term and multi-generational. To safeguard cultural identity in the face of colonisation is difficult. To safeguard an evolving cultural identity across multiple-generations, where one generation's conception of culture may be different from that of those previous is problematic.

Frustrations concerning culture were stronger with younger respondents. How the world is perceived and experienced changes with each new generation. Cultures change and adapt, or die. Across the indigenous cases, the rate of cultural change was much stronger with younger generations whose expectations appeared to move at a faster rate of change than previous generations. Across contexts, these indigenous communities were undergoing a process of decolonisation and cultural revival. Younger generations have emerged from a world where they had more educational and cultural opportunities than previous generations. They were raised in an era when the indigenous institution was a power not a promise and had benefited from the institutions' investments into succession. Most had benefited from tertiary education, which aided critical thinking and conscious attempts to decolonise. Compared to previous generations, they came from an emerging era of cultural strength, and therefore were much stronger culturally. Cultural revitalisation has accelerated the rate of generational change. In each indigenous community, young culturally grounded leaders had much stronger cultural expectations of the organisation. The younger generation were more aspirational in their views of the organisation and less tied to the maintenance of the existing model. This explains their frustration and disappointment at the slow rate of organisation culture change. Frustration at the lack of dialogue alludes to underlying tensions within the organisation and the powerlessness of emerging leaders to address these tensions.

Such tensions also show that the indigenous organisations are not well equipped to evolve and adapt quickly. Financial strategies are well calibrated for a long-term horizon but the organisations themselves are slow to change and adapt to the changing expectations of their communities. Inter-generational investment strategies need to be complemented by generational shifts in mindset to ensure the organisation continues to evolve alongside its population. Generational tensions are evidence that greater attention needs to be placed on the evolution of thought, to ensure the organisations thinking can respond to generational shifts in thought and expectations. Building space for dialogue would create positive avenues for dissent and encourage healthy critique. Such dialogue would contribute to building the adaptive competencies of indigenous organisations to ensure the organisations mindset can adapt alongside both environmental and generational change. Each of the indigenous cases had invested heavily in succession. The organisations though, had not prepared themselves fully to make the most of the fruits of such labours.

Organisational tensions stem not just from the organisation's culture but also its culture of learning. Responding to generational change requires adaptive competencies. Hedberg, Nystrom and Starbuck (1976) use the analogy of 'camping on seesaws' to describe their prescriptions for a self-designing organisation. Most designers build 'palaces on sand-dunes', fixed and rigid structures that avoid critique, despite being built on shifting sands. Instead, they propose erecting an 'organisational tent' that places greater emphasis on flexibility and continuous remodelling. An organisational tent does not seek harmony or strive to behave any more consistently than its environment does. Greater attention is placed on exploration, unlearning, re-learning, and inventing new methods to support an organisation to meet social and technological change and maximise its long-term viability. Here, emphasis is placed on the organisation balancing contrasting processes (like a seesaw) seeking only minimal amounts of desirable characteristics to avoid complacency and stagnation.³⁷ The contradictions and confusion that exists between cultural priorities and economic priorities can only be resolved through dialogue. Greater space for dialogue creates greater opportunities for critical analysis and evolution of thought to better balance conflicting purposes and priorities. Failure to address this ethical tension allows the organisation to

³⁷ This is caricatured by six aphorisms: cooperation requires minimal consensus, satisfaction rests upon minimal contentment, wealth arises from minimal affluence, goals merit minimal faith, improvement depends on minimal consistency, wisdom demands minimal rationality (Hedberg et al., 1976, p. 41).

default to 'the norm' and reduce itself to a wealth creation instrument (Nilakant & Lips-Wiersma, 2012, p. 79). There was no clearly identified single solution for such complex challenges. It was clear though, that greater dialogue on the ethical tensions within the organisation will be part of the solution.

Indigenising (decolonising) the corporation

Across the cases, the current structure was seen as inadequate for meeting cultural aspirations. The structure acts as a scapegoat for much deeper tensions concerning conflicting voices within the organisation. These problems relate to the culture of the organisation and unwillingness of governors to move beyond what is known to what is possible. As indigenous organisations have matured and consolidated themselves into a position of power, they have shifted focus to examine the possibility of being different, being indigenous.

All respondents stated the next stage in the organisations development was to indigenise, undertaking a programme of organisation culture change, to better align with indigenous cultural values. All respondents described the organisation as being in a process of indigenisation. Despite the powerful norming influences of the external environment, all organisations have chosen to be unique and identifiable as an indigenous institution. Whilst acknowledging the need to maintain a fit with the Western economic context, each organisation recognised it needed to re-calibrate itself to foster greater cultural legitimacy with its own indigenous community.

This process of indigenisation is focused on organisational values, not mechanics. The technical elements of the organisation were seen as necessary to fit their external economic context. The legal, regulatory and economic constraints were seen to be prohibitive of re-designing an entirely new organisational structure. The process of indigenisation did not require a retreat or isolation from their Western economic context. Rather, the focus was on how Western cultural values could be supplanted by indigenous cultural values without sacrificing economic success. Each organisation sought to privilege indigenous cultural values. In two of the cases this was more explicit: the 'Values in Action' initiative of Sealaska focused on bringing cultural values to life within the organisation, and the 'Cultural Vibrancy' strategy of Kamehameha Schools, which is led by a team, the Ho'okahua Cultural Vibrancy Group, dedicated to growing cultural competency within the organisation.

All three cases had also established a strategy or unit, focused on better balancing commercial and cultural priorities. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu had initiated a tribal economies strategy focused on leveraging the institutions influence for broader tribal economic and social outcomes. Scott (2014) suggests that one way organisations can cope with pressures to conform, is to create internal buffering units that are decoupled from the institution and allowed to operate independent of these pressures. This decoupling allows the institution to maintain the legitimacy of its formal structure whilst freeing practice to respond to different considerations (J.W. Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Sealaska established a subsidiary called Haa Aaní to focus on regional economic growth in tribal village communities. Kamehameha Schools' Land Assets Division sought to optimise the balance of educational, cultural, economic, environmental and social returns of its stewardship of lands and natural resources in a culturally appropriate manner. Both are sites of indigenous organisational entrepreneurship where indigenous priorities are privileged. These decoupled units enabled the institution to test alternative approaches to wealth creation that respond to indigenous aspirations, but in a way that did not risk the institutions external legitimacy. These units were sites of innovation and dialogue that helped them better resolve the contradictions of conflicting commercial and cultural agenda. The evidence shows the learnings from these decoupled units also influenced positive change in the wider organisation.

Embedding indigenous cultural values is reliant on the ability to translate cultural values into organisational practice. Across cases, the institutions struggled to articulate cultural values and then marry these values with organisation behaviour. Indigenous cultural values are complex, have multiple layers of meaning, and are not easily articulated. All of the indigenous communities had experienced severe cultural loss through colonisation. This cultural loss caused a lack of confidence to openly discuss cultural values and how they could be given voice within the organisation. The ability to translate cultural values into practice requires bold cultural leadership. Such leadership is hard to find in an environment where the indigenous culture is still recovering from colonisation and loss. The emergence of young technically and culturally literate leaders was a positive sign that this process of change will gain further future momentum.

All three of the indigenous cases were going through a process of indigenisation and decolonisation. The impacts of colonisation have been profound. A systemic process of

colonisation has ensured mainstream patterns of behaviour and thought have been institutionalised within indigenous organisations. The growing momentum to indigenise organisational structure, behaviour and measures of success is evidence that indigenous organisations are challenging these taken-for-granted practices. It is important to recognise that both indigenous and non-indigenous staff championed this cause in all three of the cases. Non-indigenous staff generally embraced this new or emerging cultural agenda. Resistance did occur in pockets, but this was more often the product of the inability to imagine alternative possibilities, rather than direct hostility to indigenous aspirations. Instead, non-indigenous staff felt greatly rewarded by their contribution to indigenous development and the burgeoning cultural renaissance.

Pihama suggests Kaupapa Māori theory is an analysis of existing power structures that seeks to expose underlying assumptions that serve to conceal power relationships and cultural concepts that maintain inequality (as cited in Smith, 1999, p. 201). The challenge for decolonising indigenous institutions is to reveal taken-for-granted assumptions and their links to concepts and power dynamics that marginalise indigenous peoples and culture. Cultural-cognitive theorists emphasise that all choices and behaviours are made within a cultural frame informed or constrained by the ways in which meaning is constructed (Scott, 2014). Despite much attention on the role institutionalisation has played in aiding colonising influences, institutional theory can also play an emancipatory role, alongside Kaupapa Māori theory, in revealing the unconscious and conscious constraints imposed by colonisation. As Scott notes: 'Institutional forces can liberate as well as constrain' (2008, p. 220). Smith(1999) notes solutions to colonisation require imagining a different world to theorise how injustice is constructed and maintained in our present reality, and to pose alternatives constructed from our own world-view to offer a way out of colonisation.

Decolonisation offers the possibility of reimagining the organisation, rejecting imposed Western cultural values and definitions of success, and redesigning structure to generate a new form of indigenous institutionalism. Such a goal requires imagination and bravery to depart from the norm, but if successful, a new form of organisation could be configured to meet indigenous needs. The three cases were the dominant indigenous institutions within their contexts, but they were not alone, and their similarities suggest commonality of purpose and the potential for an international field of indigenous organisations where indigenous

values are the norm. Secondly, the evidence suggests their power and influence locally is still growing. As this occurs, indigenous organisations will have the freedom to design for efficiency, not legitimacy. Furthermore, their influence will likely extend to Western organisations that may at some future point have to conform to indigenous standards. As one indigenous respondent put it; ‘In a hundred years they’ll be paying us taxes’. Despite the negative impacts of colonising processes on indigenous organisations, these influences are being challenged, countered and replaced; showing indigenous institutions can still provide a pathway to emancipation.

This section discussed key themes that emerged from the data. Analysis shows indigenous organisations inhabit complex and contradictory realities. The data also shows they are evolving; indigenising their processes and grounded themselves in indigenous cultural values. The next section will contextualise the findings within the broader literature of organisation theory.

Conceptualising the findings

This section, the second of two sections in this chapter, situates the findings within the broader field of organisation theory. This section will discuss key themes that have emerged from the data and how they relate to organisation theory, or alternatively how they cannot be addressed by current theory. Discussion focuses on: (a) the application of notions of fit, (b) fears of cultural assimilation, (c) the impacts of cultural renaissance and (d) the highly complex and contextual nature of indigenous organisations.

Organisational equilibrium

The paradigm of structural contingency theory is that organisation effectiveness stems from the structure fitting the environment to which the organisation must relate. Central to this paradigm is the notion that organisational fit impacts performance. The better the fit the better the performance results; conversely if the structure misfits its environment then tension and lower performance will result. This low performance then leads to a change in the organisational structure to bring it back into fit. In this manner, contingency theory describes a process where an organisation moves into an equilibrium with its environment, and when it misfits it must change to regain this equilibrium (Donaldson, 2001).

Structural contingency theory would suggest the tension within indigenous organisations is caused by their misfit and the solution would be for them to restructure and regain a fit with their environment. The data shows the locus of conflict in indigenous organisations is different. Rather than resulting from a misfit, conflict is caused by the complexities of the conflicting realities to which indigenous organisations must relate. The data shows indigenous organisations must relate to two conflicting and dynamic realities that are similar to what Henry Mintzberg (1979) describes as “contradictory contingency factors”(p.474). Contingency theory posits there is an equilibrium to which the organisation must align itself. Analysis shows there is no clear equilibrium for indigenous organisations as their strategy requires them to constantly balance the pressure for economic growth, (to support cultural cohesion), with the risk of cultural assimilation. Indigenous organisations must relate to conflicting realities, therefore, conflict is an inherent dynamic within these institutions.

The data also shows indigenous organisations are changing. Conflict is caused by cultural clash, where unconscious Western cultural assumptions are being challenged and replaced. Here, conflict is not a symptom of misfit but a sign of evolution and indigenisation. The concept of conflict and misfit is also associated with lowered performance. The three indigenous cases have been very successful economically despite these tensions. Thus, conflict is not a symptom of misfit or ineffectiveness; instead it is just a symptom of the complexities of conflicting realities of indigenous organisations and their cultural evolution.

This thesis suggests that the conflict seen in indigenous organisations does not imply they are ineffective or out of equilibrium. Instead, conflict stems from the complexities of the conflicting realities to which they must relate and is a symptom of their evolution to a more indigenous form.

Organisational assimilation

Corporate models were seen as ‘foreign’ and designed to reflect Western cultural values and needs. One respondent described the adoption of a Western structure as ‘being poured into a container that wasn’t made for us’. Across the cases, there were strong fears the use of a Western model contributed to cultural assimilation. The purpose of these organisations was to maintain collective indigenous identity, yet the resourcing of this mission necessitated flirting with the colonial context the organisation was trying to distance itself from. The structure itself was often associated with broader colonising processes and described by one

respondent as 'the articulation of colonisation'. There were strong fears the conscious adoption of a Western structure had resulted in the unconscious adoption of Western cultural values, measures of success and templates for behaviour.

The dual cultural contexts of indigenous organisations are not equal. Colonisation was seen as 'rife', 'all powerful', 'everywhere' and 'challenging everyday'. Western organisational structures are imbued with Western cultural norms. If organisational processes and practices have not been specifically designed to be indigenous then they are Western; forcing indigenous staff and leaders to battle powerful and deeply ingrained Western cultural norms. Assumptions of Western power, superiority and unspoken 'rules of the game' constrain indigenous aspirations and create fears that the organisation could assimilate, rather than emancipate, indigenous communities.

This thesis suggests that indigenous communities fear the adoption of ritualised Western organisational structures has been detrimental in that: (a) they are not aligned with indigenous purposes and aspirations, and (b) they could contribute to the cultural assimilation of indigenous organisations, aspirations and emancipatory agenda. These anxieties and fears may reflect an evolution of indigenous identity itself and what that means in the 21st Century.

Organisational evolution

Each indigenous community is situated within a colonial context where they are a marginalised minority. Their economic and political futures are contingent on their social acceptance in a Western economic context. Furthermore, their political influence is critical to being able to influence positive social change for their communities. This has necessitated each indigenous organisation to consolidate their position within their local environment. Once these institutions are in a position of strength and stability, they have committed to inventing new approaches to organisation behaviour, adapting Western structural elements to suit their needs, but rejecting Western cultural values. In this manner, there are three key phases in the development of indigenous organisations: economic consolidation, political consolidation, and cultural consolidation.

After establishment, the first priority for indigenous organisations is economic sustainability. All three institutions had inherited collective assets. For Sealaska and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, their institutions were established through reparations for historic injustices and loss of

land. For Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu there were fears in their indigenous community regarding financial mismanagement due to their inexperience, which resulted in conservative and risk adverse financial management. With a lack of internal capability and experience, the indigenous community brought in external non-indigenous talent to plug skills gaps, foster acceptance with their wider community and signal they are an equal opportunity employer. Employing non-indigenous staff and adopting Western structural models were key signals that these indigenous organisations conformed to local social norms. Submission to institutional prescriptions are rewarded through enhanced legitimacy, resources and survivability in their environment (Oliver, 1997 as cited in Miles, 2012; Yang & Konrad, 2010). This is even more relevant for organisations with ambiguous or complex goals who may find advantage in designing to meet the expectations of important constituencies (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). By designing to adhere to the rules of the institutional environment, the organisation becomes legitimate and uses its legitimacy to boost its chances of survival (J.W. Meyer & Rowan, 1977; L.G. Zucker, 1977). For indigenous organisations, conforming to Western structural prescriptions and norms has consolidated their economic power and social acceptance. These gains, however, have been made through westernising the organisation, a process that has been detrimental to indigenous aspirations and purposes.

Money is a component of power and once the indigenous community has built their collective wealth, they translate this into political influence. The need to access further capital for development also drives the need to build strong political partnerships and credibility with financial and political institutions. Freeman (1982, p. 14 as cited in DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) suggests that older and more established organisations reach a point when they can start to dominate their environments rather than conform to them. The economic consolidation of the three indigenous cases led to the consolidation of political power. Each of the cases then used their political influence to advocate and advance social and cultural outcomes. Their political ascension increased their ability to influence positive change for their communities. These gains also resulted in increased tensions within indigenous regional communities concerned at the centralisation of power. These centralisation/decentralisation tensions were stronger in the tribal cases (Sealaska and Ngāi Tahu) who had higher levels of accountability to rural tribal communities.

A key feature in this process of indigenisation was power. Without power, indigenous organisations were limited to focusing on fitting in and garnering acceptance. Indigenous aspirations were always present but were not externally validated and the institution lacked the power or luxury to do otherwise. Once the organisations' position was consolidated, it was then free to place greater attention on cultural evolution. Structural tools that aided a fit with their economic context were preserved, as they were still necessary. However, the Western cultural values and assumptions associated with these tools were increasingly supplanted by indigenous alternatives. Greater strength meant indigenous organisations could focus less on external validation in order to focus on what made them distinct as indigenous entities.

This evolution was tied to wider changes in society. Each of the three indigenous groups was in a period of cultural renaissance. The cultural evolution of the organisation was a product of cultural revolutions within their communities. Each successive generation built upon the cultural gains of their predecessors. As cultural strength in the community grew so too did the cultural expectations of the organisation. Cultural revival has increased the rate of generational change and cultural expectations younger people have of the organisation, prompting the organisation to adapt. It is reasonable to presume that as the pace of cultural renaissance increases so too will the pressure for organisation culture change and evolution.

This thesis suggests indigenous organisations are evolving. They reside within a social context that is rapidly changing due to cultural revival and the reclamation of power. These societal changes have intensified cultural expectations. Indigenous organisations have responded to these shifts by recalibrating to better align with indigenous cultural values and aspirations.

Context matters

As contingency theory suggests, there was no one universal indigenous model across the cases. Each indigenous organisation used structures relevant to their own contexts and needs. Each context had different institutional constraints that the organisation had to respond to. The Treaty framework of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the corporate strategy defining federal relationships with Alaska Natives and the unresolved status of indigenous rights in Hawai'i were all significant contingencies that informed organisation design. The data shows each indigenous organisation sat within its own economic, political, social, and cultural context

and that this context mattered. Each was designed to fit the environment to which it must relate and address the particular challenges within this environment. Rather than draw comparisons across contexts, this research sought to situate each case within its own cultural context. The findings have supported this approach and demonstrate the highly contextual nature of indigenous organisations

This thesis supports the structural contingency theory notion that there is no single model for indigenous organisation design. Attempts to define a prime indigenous organisational model would fail to recognise the highly contextual nature of indigenous organisations and the complexities of the contexts to which they must relate.

Summary

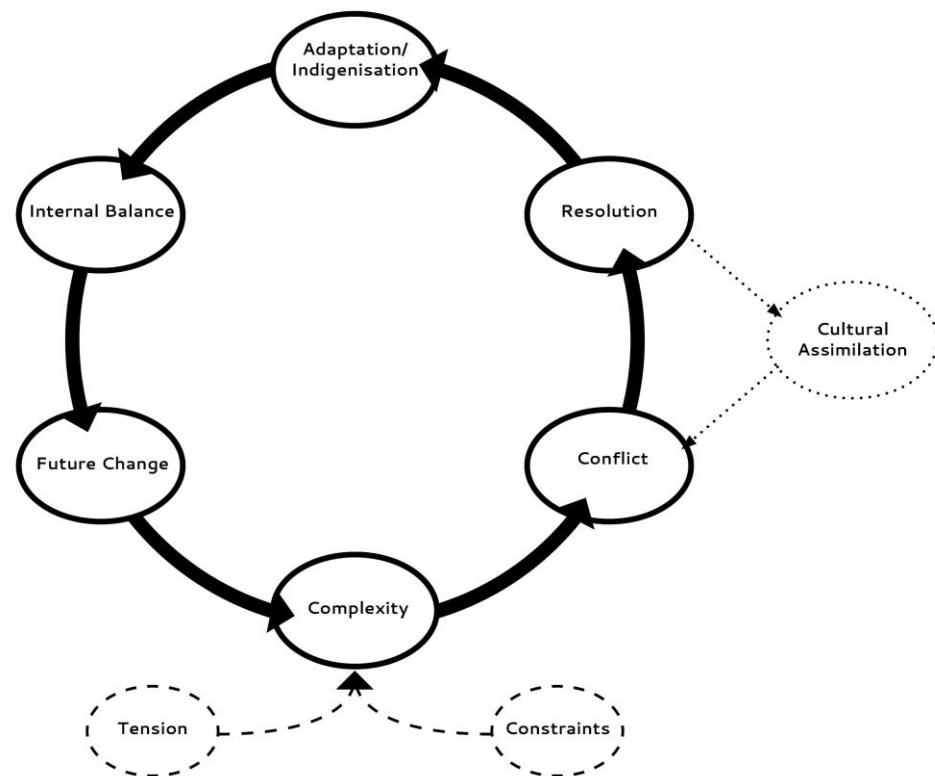


Figure 9 The Evolution of Indigenous Organisations

The structure of indigenous organisations has been both an enabler and a constraint. Structure is both constraining and constrained by external forces. It is both a source of internal tension and a symptom of external tension. External cultural norms constrain the indigenisation of the

organisation but the structure itself is also a cultural product of these external influences and validates their power. The structure inflames tensions due to it conflicting with indigenous values but these same tensions are also symptomatic of broader challenges for indigenous culture to persist against a dominating Western cultural context. These tensions and constraints create complexities that indigenous organisations must navigate.

Conflict is also a sign of change. Conflict would not exist if the organisation had been assimilated into Western culture. Conflict is a product of the complexities of their dual cultural contexts and the challenges of inhabiting a colonised space. Attempts to resolve these conflicts have the potential to be either emancipatory (through adaptation and/or indigenisation) or assimilatory (leading to further internal conflict).

Indigenous organisations are evolving. Berger and Luckman (1967) note organisations structurally reflect socially constructed realities. As society changes due to the positive impacts of indigenous cultural renaissance, so too does the organisation. Indigenisation does not mean retrenchment from a Western world but the achievement of a better balance between the conflicts of the two contexts. Yet both these cultural contexts are changing suggesting the challenge for indigenous organisations is not to just adapt to the concerns of the present but to build adaptive competencies to negotiate future change.

This research used indigenous theory as a lens to view and interpret data, which was situated within the literature of organisation theory, to aid analysis of contemporary indigenous organisations. The research brought together indigenous theory and organisation theory to contribute new knowledge concerning indigenous organisation design. The findings show indigenous organisations are different; they inhabit different realities, have different purposes and are evolving in different ways. The complex dynamics of indigenous organisations cannot be fully addressed by current organisation theory. The survey of literature identified an absence of literature concerning indigenous organisations. The findings challenge the application of prevailing theories to indigenous contexts and suggest indigenous organisations warrant further research as their own specific organisational field. This research has contributed new knowledge concerning the dynamics of indigenous organisations but further research is needed to understand and aid these institutions that are critical to the emancipation of indigenous communities.

This chapter sought to progress towards a theory of indigenous organisations. The first section discussed the key themes that emerged from the data. The second section sought to conceptualise the findings within the broader literature of organisation theory. The next chapter will discuss the limitations of the research, implications for further research and offer concluded arguments.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

This research employed a multiple case study approach to study indigenous organisations across three different contexts. Analysis of a variety of public texts and documentation established the cultural contexts for each case. Interpretation of interviews gave the thesis its foundation to examine the deeper meaning of organisational features, context, and behaviour. Participants were eager to participate and for many the interview process was a rare opportunity to air frustrations or aspirations and many came with clear points to make regarding change.

The findings from this study add to a research understanding of indigenous organisations. The study shows indigenous organisations are evolving to better align with indigenous cultural values and aspirations. Tensions also signal progress as taken for granted assumptions are identified, challenged, and replaced. This final chapter states the research limitations and opportunities as well as a summary of the main findings.

Limitations of the research

As part of this study, interview participants were nominated by a senior executive from each organisation, which may have had some bearing on the findings with dissidents likely being omitted from participation. It is also important to note that the cases focused on minority indigenous peoples colonised by English speaking Western societies. The findings reflect Western-indigenous contexts and relationships that may not be applicable to non-Western indigenous contexts.

With a lack of literature concerning indigenous organisations, texts tended to be based on historical narratives or documentation written by the organisation. There was a clear lack of critical analysis by external parties that may have aided the research. Historical narratives were mostly written by non-indigenous historians and perhaps lacked understanding of the nuances of the indigenous culture. Documentation written by the organisation was designed to present the organisation in a positive light and was not focused on deeper analysis of tensions or challenges.

This research intended to examine the features of current indigenous organisations. An unexpected result in the findings shifted the focus to the complexities of their environments. The aim of this research was also to present all the main findings including the key similarities and differences across the cases. Many of the aspects unique to individual cases were omitted due to data saturation. The findings were grounded in the data but at times this process omitted contextual factors that were taken for granted. In two of the cases (Sealaska and Kamehameha Schools), blood quantum was a significant factor in determining membership. This had significant bearing on identity and created significant trauma for those that did not meet prescribed levels of blood quantum to be defined indigenous. Blood quantum had a significant impact on identity and membership in those communities but it did not factor highly in the data as it was largely taken for granted as the prevailing norm.

In the Sealaska case, direct financial distributions were made to tribal member shareholders that had a significant bearing on how the organisation was geared. This dynamic was seen to create tension between individualised benefits and collectivised advancement. The pressure to distribute wealth was seen to influence membership to investment strategy. However, due to it being the norm, shareholder dividends did not feature highly in the data.

The research analysed data captured at a point in time. Analysis of this data provided a snapshot in time of the organisation, its current reality and trajectory. All three institutions were evolving at the time of data collection and the themes and conclusions drawn from the data reflect the organisation as it was in that moment in time. Without a longitudinal study it is impossible to predict long-term effects.

Implications for further research

Despite their importance to the future of indigenous peoples, there is a paucity of literature concerning indigenous organisations. Organisation theory supposes organisations are culture-free systems (Nkomo, 1992). The evidence shows this is not the case. More research is needed to grow and share knowledge across indigenous contexts, to create a body of knowledge positioning indigenous organisations within their own unique field. Furthermore, additional research is needed to examine organisation systems as cultural products to better understand the potentially harmful role they could play in aiding assimilation of indigenous culture. Such research could also shed light on how indigenous institutionalism could conversely enable indigenous aspirations.

Evidence shows indigenous organisations are in the process of indigenising. They have initiated processes for organisation change in an effort to embed indigenous cultural values within the organisation. The data shows there are both internal and external constraints to this change. The research did not examine organisation change theory (Bradford & Burke, 2005; Burke, 2013) nor did it have the ability to track organisation change interventions over time. Further research into organisation change within an indigenous context is needed to build understanding concerning the evolution of indigenous organisations to a more culturally nuanced state. Such findings would support indigenous organisations to move beyond what is known to what is possible and adapt or invent new processes to support their evolution.

Colonisation is a significant contingency for indigenous organisations. The data shows indigenous organisations champion the indigenous aspirations and the maintenance of indigenous cultural identity. This study has revealed indigenous organisations offer the potential for a way out of colonisation. Further research is needed to investigate how indigenous organisations can be designed to counter colonising processes and realise their emancipatory potential. Further work is needed to support indigenous organisations to decolonise, to reveal and challenge unconscious institutional constraints imposed by colonisation and to design indigenous alternatives.

This thesis sought to understand if there is commonality of design across indigenous organisations. The findings show their realities are too complex and contextual to support the notion of a single mode of uniform design. Furthermore, any 'fit' can only reflect a point in time at best as their contexts are fluid and changing. Any internal configuration should be no more consistent than its external environment. Rather than identify a prime model, this research suggests further investigation is needed to understand how indigenous organisations can best evolve to suit the needs of their complex and ever changing contexts.

This thesis shows structure is a scapegoat for far deeper issues that these organisations do not openly address. Structure often took the blame for issues concerning governance or the inability to design alternative indigenous processes. Further research is needed to focus on indigenous organisational processes rather than structure. The findings show greater emphasis needs to be placed on organisational capabilities and capacities rather than divisions and architecture.

Rather than generating a prime design, this thesis has generated knowledge on what indigenous organisations need to design for. For indigenous organisations to survive they need to adapt. To thrive, they need to develop adaptive competencies and organisational learning capabilities to ensure they can constantly evolve to best achieve strategy within their environment. Indigenous organisations need to be able to evolve to fit their changing environment whilst also evolving themselves to be more culturally consistent. Further research is needed to understand how such competencies can be nurtured within indigenous organisations and how these capabilities can also support their evolution to be more culturally consistent.

Summary

This study has identified that the commonality of contemporary indigenous organisations is in their contexts and challenges rather than their mechanics. Indigenous organisations are complex. Their success is dependent on their profitability and achieving a fit with a Western political and economic context. Yet, these very successes undermine their cultural integrity and purpose for existence. Underlying this complexity is the constant tension of balancing these two opposing cultural forces. However, change is occurring as new leaders are grown to negotiate these tensions and help others to ‘see the island’.³⁸

Ultimately these organisations originated from a time of cultural decline and were influenced by colonial agenda seeking to speed indigenous assimilation into mainstream culture. The adoption of a Western organisational form was seen as a means to facilitate assimilation through channelling indigenous communities into Western modes of behaviour. Contrary to expectations, the opposite has occurred. Rather than abandon their culture, each group has chosen to persist as a distinct indigenous identity. The economic foundations built by these organisations are being used for indigenous emancipation and cultural revival rather than assimilation. Whilst each has its struggles, they have committed to preserving and advancing their collective cultural identity both inside and outside the organisation.

The cultural tensions within these institutions demonstrate organisational structures are not culture free. Although they have not abandoned their indigenous culture, they are not also

³⁸ A Hawaiian phrase referring to the traditions of Polynesian wayfinders (voyaging canoe navigators) who would picture their destination (often many thousands of miles away) in their mind and mentally chart and track their journey. This referred to guiding a collective to a destination despite the navigator potentially never having been there before.

free of colonising or institutionalising influences, both personal and structural. The technical and structural tools adopted were not culture-free. Western cultural practices are also brought into the organisation by staff, indigenous and non-indigenous, who have been socially normed to a Western cultural and organisational mindset. The internal tensions and cultural clash are evidence that organisations are not culture free and that for indigenous organisations, the struggle for emancipation persists. The economic power created by these institutions has been both a source of strength and weakness, creating the influence and resources to achieve self-determination, yet doing so through internalising Western cultural values that undermine and weaken indigenous cultural identity.

Despite these challenges, each institution has made a choice to keep the Western structural and technical tools that suit but to replace the Western cultural value systems that are associated with them. They seek to indigenise these structural features and create new and culturally indexed norms for the organisation to fit the purposes of their own unique cultural context. The three cases are each undergoing this transformation, which have their own obstacles but also their own champions and sites of progress. They have become sites of collectivised indigenous voice and power for their communities. They attract impassioned individuals and leaders seeking to be a part of a movement for indigenous advancement and change. They aspire to balance collective wealth creation with collective advancement in perpetuity; making them unique, fascinating and worthy of further study.

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Appendices

Information for Participants

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INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

Indigenous Organisation Design

Tēnā koe e te rakatira kua aro mai ki tēnei kaupapa rakahau.

Thank you for expressing an interest in this research. The research aims to identify the features of current indigenous organisation design and build an understanding of how their organisational elements and definitions of success are influenced by indigenous cultural values. The ultimate aim of this research is to generate new knowledge on indigenous organisation design that would aid indigenous peoples in designing contemporary structures to best achieve success as defined by their community and cultural values.

Three sample contemporary indigenous organisations have been selected: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Kamehameha Schools of Hawaii and the Sealaska Corporation of Alaska. It is important to note that this is not a comparative study; each case will be analysed within its own context. The sample indigenous organisations have been chosen because of their different structures and communities that provide a greater opportunity to build understanding of indigenous organisations across multiple contexts.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION:

- Your involvement in this project will be in the form of a confidential interview with the researcher. The interview will focus on the organisation design, the limitations experienced by the organisation and how indigenous cultural values influence the organisation.
- No raw data you provide will be passed to your employer.
- It is important to note that this research is purely descriptive and will not directly result in changes to your organisation.
- The interview should last between 30 – 60 minutes, depending on the depth of your responses.
- The interview will be recorded on an electronic recorder and then transcribed into written form. Should you wish to do so, you are entitled to review the typed interview transcript to verify its accuracy. A transcript of the interview will be provided to you within 1 month of the interview.
- At times a professional transcription service may be engaged to support the researcher. Confidentiality will be maintained through the transcriber signing a confidentiality agreement.
- When referring to third parties during the interview (for example a CEO) you are requested not to refer to people by their names. Any names you mention during an interview will be removed

during the transcription process.

- You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. This includes the withdrawal of any information that you provide during the interview.
- As a follow-up to this interview, you may be asked to clarify information provided during the interview. Please note that participation in this interview does not require you to participate in such follow-up discussions.
- The overall results of the study may be published in thesis form and in academic journals or conference publications. A PhD thesis is a public document accessible via the University of Canterbury Library database.
- You may be assured of the complete confidentiality of all data gathered in this study. Your identity will be known only to the researcher and will not be disclosed in any ensuing publications or reports that may result from the study.
- A report summarising the overall results of the study will be provided to the organisation at the conclusion of the study. This report will only contain aggregate data and will not make specific reference to any of the data you provide. The names or identifying information of participants will not be made known in this report.
- All data provided during the interview will be securely stored at the offices of Te Tapuae o Rehua and will only be accessible to the researcher and research supervisors. All data stored in the digital form will be stored in password protected files.
- A summary of the research will be reported back to participants and you will be notified of any subsequent publications.
- Data collected during the study will be kept for a period of 10 years where after it will be destroyed.
- Participants will be able to withdraw their consent up until 6 months after the interview. After this point data would have been analysed and will have been incorporated into a larger data set.

The project is being carried out as a requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree at the University of Canterbury under the supervision of Associate Professor Venkataraman Nilakant, who can be contacted at +64 3 364 2987 Ext 8621 or ven.nilakant@canterbury.ac.nz. He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The project is also sponsored by the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, an indigenous research centre at the University of Canterbury, under the supervision of Associate Professor Rawiri Te Maire Tau, who can be contacted at +64 3 312 7229 or temaire.tau@canterbury.ac.nz. He will also be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The project is also supported by further indigenous scholars to provide cultural guidance in regard to protocols to ensure the research is culturally appropriate to each of the three indigenous groups. The research is supported by Native American scholar Professor Brian Brayboy of the School of Social Transformation at Arizona State University, who can be contacted at 4809654096 or bryan.brayboy@asu.edu. Furthermore, the research is also supported by Hawaiian scholar Assistant Professor Dr. Kamanamaikalani Beamer of the Hawai'i inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge and Richardson School of Law at the University of Hawaii Manoa, who can be contacted on 8089556189 or beamer@hawaii.edu.

This project has received ethics approval from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee. Any complaints should be addressed to:

The Chair
Human Ethics Committee
University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800, Christchurch
(human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

If you would like the opportunity to have the research explained in person or to ask questions about the research in person then please contact me so I can make a time to discuss the research further with you.

Email: eruera.tarena@ngaitahu.iwi.nz

Mobile: **+1 (480)-760-3644**

Nei anō aku mihi ki a koe e te rakatira.

Noho pai ora mai koe,



Eruera Tarena
(Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui)

eruera.tarena@ngaitahu.iwi.nz

Individual Consent Form

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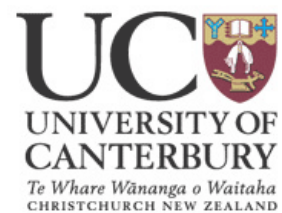
Eruera Ropata Prendergast-Tarena (PhD Candidate)

Management Department

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University of Canterbury

8140



CONSENT FORM

Indigenous Organisation Design

- I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that full confidentiality will be preserved.
- I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.
- I agree to the interview being recorded via audio tape.
- I understand that the results of this study will be published in a PhD thesis which is a public document accessible via the University of Canterbury library.

YES	NO

YES	NO

YES	NO

YES	NO

I note that the project has been reviewed **and approved** by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

NAME (please print): _____

Signature:

Date:

I would like to review a copy of my interview transcript:

YES	NO

YES NO

Please send me a copy of the report summarising the research findings:

If 'YES', please provide your contact details or email address:

Participant Interview Sheet

Participant Interview Sheet Indigenous Organisation Design

Name:	Age:
Gender:	Iwi:
Organisation:	Division:
Role:	Respondent Type:

1. Organisation Structure

- 1.1. Could you please describe your role in the organisation...
- 1.2. How long have you worked here?
- 1.3. Why do you choose to work for an indigenous organisation?
- 1.4. Do you think the organisation is distinct from a contemporary Western corporate? If different, could you give me an example of how...
- 1.5. Could you describe how your role fits within the current overall structure?
- 1.6. What other aspects of the organisation do you work closely with and why?
- 1.7. What is the overall structure of the organisation? –

2. Decision making

- 2.1. How are decisions made regarding the direction of the organisation? Who makes these decisions?
- 2.2. Do you think there is transparency in decision making? If so, how is this supported?
- 2.3. Does the indigenous community feed into decision making? If so, how does this happen?

3. Indigenous cultural values

- 3.1. How do indigenous cultural values influence the organisation? Can you give me an example...
- 3.2. How is success defined for the organisation? Can you give me an example of a 'success story'...
- 3.3. Do indigenous cultural values inform definitions of success? If yes, in what ways? How is success measured differently?
- 3.4. Do you think the current structure meets cultural aspirations? If so, can you tell me how it achieves these? If not, what do you think should change to better meet cultural aspirations. If so, what would the organisation need to do?
- 3.5. What do you think is the next step in the evolution of the organisation? What would you like to see happen?

4. Limitations

- 4.1. What are the tensions/issues within the organisation? What does the organisation do to resolve these?
- 4.2. Is there tension between the cultural aspirations and the economic development of the organisation? If so can you talk more about this?
- 4.3. Are there constraints on exercising indigenous cultural values within the organisation? If so, can you give me an example of this?
- 4.4. Do you think Western cultural values or colonisation impact upon the organisation? If so, could you expand on this further? How does the organisation respond?

Closing

Is there anything else you'd like to add that I haven't asked you?

Would you like to see the transcript before I analyse the data – if so how would you like to receive this?

Organisation Invite

College of Business and Economics

Department of Management

Tel: +64 3 364 2606, Fax: + 64 364 2020, www.mang.canterbury.ac.nz

Eruera Ropata Prendergast-Tarena (PhD Candidate)

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Christchurch 8140. New Zealand



Indigenous Organisation Design

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH STUDY

Nei anō te mihi ki ō mauka whakahī, kā wai āta rere, kā whare katoa o ōu tīpuna.

You are invited to participate in research on the organisation design of contemporary indigenous organisations. The study seeks to address a gap concerning contemporary indigenous development; the organisation design of indigenous corporations to manage collective assets and advance collective aspirations. The research aims to identify the features of current indigenous organisation design to build an understanding of how organisational elements and definitions of success are influenced by cultural values. The ultimate aim of this study is to generate new knowledge on indigenous organisation design that would aid indigenous peoples in designing structures to best achieve success as defined by their community and cultural values.

Three contemporary indigenous organisations have been identified: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Kamehameha Schools of Hawaii and the Sealaska Corporation of Alaska. The selection of these organisations is based upon their existing relationships through the First Nations Futures Institute at Stanford University. The selected indigenous organisations also inhabit differing contexts with variations in organisation design, ethnicity, geography, age, size and population creating greater opportunities for learning about the dynamics of indigenous organisations across multiple contexts. It is important to note that this is not a comparative study; each case will be analysed within its own context.

Due to the prominence of indigenous organisations within their own communities it is inevitable that they will be identifiable by their own communities. As the organisations are identifiable any individual responses and names or information that leads to personal identification will be omitted from the research.

It is important to note that the focus of the research is not on the personalities of the organisation but the design of the organisation. Data collected will be focused on the organisation design (strategy, structure, processes, culture, people development etc) and how they are influenced by indigenous cultural values.

The research is led by a Māori researcher (Eruea Tarena) and is supervised by a Māori scholar (Associate Professor Rawiri Te Maire Tau of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre). Due to the research also involving non-Māori indigenous peoples (Hawaiian and Native American) an indigenous scholar from each of these two groups will be identified to provide cultural guidance and ensure the cultural integrity of the research. The research also incorporates indigenous theoretical perspectives (Kaupapa Māori and Tribal Critical Theory) to view and interpret the data.

Within each of the sample cases I would like to collect a broad range of perspectives within and of the organisation to gain a deeper understanding of how organisation design is articulated and how it operates. As such I seek informed consent from the Chair or Chief Executive of your organisation to participate in this research. Participation will involve assisting to identify individuals who could be invited to participate in confidential interviews with the researcher. The interviews will focus on organisation design, the limitations experienced by the organisation and how indigenous cultural values influence the organisation.

A summary of the research will be reported back to each of the participating organisations as well as notification/copies of any subsequent publications.

The project is being carried out as a requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree at the University of Canterbury under the supervision of Associate Professor Venkataraman Nilakant, who can be contacted at +64 3 364 2987 Ext 8621 or ven.nilakant@canterbury.ac.nz. He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The project is also sponsored by the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, an indigenous research centre at the University of Canterbury, under the supervision of Associate Professor Rawiri Te Maire Tau, who can be contacted at +64 3 312 7229 or temaire.tau@canterbury.ac.nz. He will also be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The project is also supported by further indigenous scholars to provide cultural guidance in regard to protocols to ensure the research is culturally appropriate to each of the three indigenous groups. The research is supported by Native American scholar Professor Brian Brayboy of the School of Social Transformation at Arizona State University, who can be contacted at 4809654096 or bryan.brayboy@asu.edu. Furthermore, the research is also supported by Hawaiian scholar Assistant Professor Dr. Kamanamaikalani Beamer of the Hawai'i inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge and Richardson School of Law at the University of Hawaii Manoa, who can be contacted on 8089556189 or beamer@hawaii.edu.

This project has received ethics approval from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee. Any complaints should be addressed to:

The Chair

Human Ethics Committee

University of Canterbury

Private Bag 4800, Christchurch

(human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

If you would like the opportunity to have the research explained in person or to ask questions about the research in person then please contact me so I can make a time to discuss the research further with

you.

Email: eruera.tarena@ngaitahu.iwi.nz

Telephone: **+64 3 365 9206**

Mobile: **+64 021 2800 575**

Nei anō aku mihi ki a koe e te rakatira. I look forward to your potential involvement in the research study.

Noho pai ora mai koe,



Eruera Tarena
(Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui)

eruera.tarena@ngaitahu.iwi.nz

Organisation Consent Form

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ORGANISATION CONSENT FORM

Indigenous Organisation Design

- I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I give informed consent on behalf of my organisation to participate in the project, and consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that the confidentiality of individual participants will be preserved.

YES	NO

- I also consent to identifying suitable participants to be interviewed by the researcher.

YES	NO

- I understand that although the organisation will be identified, any information leading to personal identification will be omitted from the research.

YES	NO

- I understand that the results of this study will be published in a PhD thesis, which is a public document accessible via the University of Canterbury library.

YES	NO

- I would like our organisation to receive a summary report of the research.

YES	NO

I note that the project has been reviewed **and approved** by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

NAME (please print): _____

Signature:

Date:

Position:

Organisation:

Sample Coding Tables

Table 3 Sealaska Community Leaders and Elders Coding Table

Concepts	Categories	Codes	Paraphrases	
success is more than the bottom line	develop the land for our people	corporatising land puts it at risk	changed law to minimise risks	
Rank: 1			corporate lands are not the tribal land base	
Frequency: 117			created protections for land	
Percentage: 29%			keeping native lands when they're a corporate asset an issue	
			land viewed by its nativeness not as an asset	
			selling land preposterous but legally possible	
			significant private land in the region	
		need to invest in our homeland	develop lands for tribal use	
			giving jobs to Mexican's; no jobs at home	
			invested round the globe but need more in our own villages	
			investing millions elsewhere hard to explain	
			need to develop our homeland	
			too remote to invest in own region; no infrastructure	
			want to build infrastructure around our communities	
			Sealaska committed to the region	higher commitment to lift up region
				SE more about region
			village corporations do more for villages	in village, culture not something we put on shelf
				villages expect village corps to do more for village
			wanted land not money	it was a land allocation model
				wanted land back not just money
				wanted land not reservations
		whole reason was to develop land by our people for our people		
	investing in culture	cultural values make us different	involvement in political, commercial & cultural worlds makes us different	
			they like our cultural orientation	

		values made us different
	investing in our culture	conscious effort to invest in culture
		corporations instrumental in strengthening culture
		corporations put millions into cultural resurgence
		doesn't have to do culture
		Preserves culture through SHI
		SE works hard to maintain culture
		Sealaska invest in culture
		we divert resources to culture
moving in the right direction	it's just a matter of time	advances just a matter of time
		continue as long as there is reason
		not able to activate it but laying the foundations for younger generations
		was all talk but now dreams coming to fruition
		we know we want to get there and we're trying
		will be superbowl when we can harmonize the way it works
		will have the ability sooner or later, maybe not in my lifetime
		world shifting to longer horizon
	it's turned a corner	2008 crash caused rethink; showed value in sustainability
		seen a cultural change in last 5-6 years
		them rounding the corner is exciting
		turned a corner in the last couple of years
	moving in the right direction	Haa Aani going in the right direction
		haven't hit our stride yet but that's where SE's going
		moving in the right direction
		relationships example of new direction
		SE moving in the right direction
	Sealaska is evolving into a native corporation	board standing up for its vision
		first 40 years to become a good corp. next 40 to become a native corp
		nothing native in this company when it was set up
		SE evolving
	need to articulate values and align decision making	corporations obligated to address native aspirations
		corporate efforts to help native aspirations

			corporation obligated to address aspirations
			everybody know the right thing as it's based on our values
		need to better articulate values to move forward	been trying to define what it means to be a native corp; execs don't know
			Can't figure out collective interests , can't move them forward
			collective IQ not there to articulate native values
			I'd ask what's our purpose but get no response
			No point questioning where we're heading
			not sure of plan to reorganise entire structure to reflect values
			org needed to clearly state values
			tension as don't know how its filtering into org
		we have to align decision making with our values	corporatized decision making
			going to keep this a native corp; bring values into decision making
			have to align decision with values
			we're bringing in small pieces of native language back into board meetings
	need to make culture alive in the structure	making culture alive in the structure	also need to wrap arms around culture
			effort to refocus on who we are
			long for the day values just apparent in your daily work and you just feel it
			next growth is how we make them alive in structure
			not putting culture in closet
			realising aspirations will be a struggle
			really putting ideas into action
			SE wears culture with pride
			social & cultural not so hidden
			we can't preach values
			will is there to make it alive in the corp
		need to hybridise the corporation	hybridising corp the next step
			lead in a different way from western world
			make it fit to what we want
			need to manage org using a different framework
			need to strengthen corporation as a native institution at same time
		need to indigenise	business affects mindset

			business affects relationships
			need to grow to do what we do
			need to lift up people, alleviate pressure to indigenise corp
		we don't walk the walk enough	don't walk the walk enough on owning our values
			how to be stewards when clear cutting forests
	success is more than just the bottom line	success is investing in our own people	80's all professionals were white, now they're our people
			have to create opportunities so educated come back
			SE helped our people become professionals
			success is corp investing more in its own people
		success is more than just the bottom line	corporations become a negative way of measuring our advancement
			demands to be profitable and meaningful
			dividend size western capitalist value; not arguing for our kids & communities
			knew sole obligation to bottom line path to destruction
			our success is making young proud to be native
			presence in political, business & cultural worlds made SE a success
			pursuing quadruple bottom line a success
			quarterly reports not SE success
			Sealaska's purpose is business, protect land & resources
			success is more than bottom line
			the money holds villages back
		young people measure success on cultural harmonics not dividends	young people measure success on cultural harmonics not big dividends
			young people are still culturally orientated
			youth rather have cultural practices than dividend
	working together to overcome tensions	corporations and tribes starting to work together	backfired as corps & tribes starting to work together
			concerted effort for village corp to work with SE
			cross over directors on subsidiaries
			SE been a great partner
			SE ,villages & tribes coming back together
		dealing with issues	have a process to deal with issues
			learned to overcome tensions
			we can endure tensions

been poured into a container that wasn't made for us	balancing two worlds problematic	balancing two worlds	balancing Tlingit and business worlds hard
Rank: 2			had be conscious we're a tribal org when working in global market
Frequency: 104			had to live in two worlds and keep them in balance
Percentage: 26%			like living in two worlds
			live in corporate world
			try to maintain balance
		living with dichotomies frustrating	competing interests frustrating
			dynamics pull against one another
			live with dichotomies
			making corporation profitable and values driven problematic
	been poured into a container that wasn't made for us	been poured into a container that wasn't made for us	been poured into a container that wasn't made for us
			capitalism drives west but antithetical to natives
			corp goes against who we are
			corp structure hard for our people
			corp way atypical to our culture
			culture amazing despite corps
			culture not reflected in structure & processes
			hierarchal business model not like community consensus model
		corporate structure was used to assimilate natives	ANCSA assimilationist
			Congress used corporate structure to assimilate natives
			created ANCSA corps to assimilate and divide
			wanted integration so formed corporations
		corporate structures are a foreign concept	business of corporations totally foreign concept
			corp doesn't fit culture but we make it work
			corp governance a foreign idea
			corporate structure a foreign structure
			Corporations were foreign till 1971
			stock ownership a foreign concept
	didn't chose model	legal and economic constraints	huge constraints against moving away from model
			legal and economic constraints
			legal and statutory impacts

			struggle with legal structure
			very corp structure as its authorised under Alaska statutes
		we didn't chose this model	Congress created these entities, not tribes or clans
			SE system not what I picked but no alternative
			we didn't chose model
	hard to be competitive	hard to be competitive when issuing dividends	competitors have edge as don't issue dividends
			difficult being competitive
			diverting resources from keeping competitiveness
			everybody else doesn't have to share
			extra requirements on natives for minority progs
			hard for us to be competitive
			not driven by capital markets
			not market regulated
		we need profit to survive	competitive businesses focused on profit not values
			don't have option to put profit back into business
			need profit to survive
	it was a reluctant settlement	didn't want BIA oversight	antipathy towards bureaucratic BIA
			Better SE manage resources than govt
			clear BIA effort to assimilate natives
			Congress didn't want reserves
			didn't want BIA, Federal oversight
			embraced corporations as reservations not economic model
			treated different than lower 48
		need to live up to unsettled settlement	ANCSA not settled
			constantly going back to govt
			feds & state wanted our land
			needed support of policy makers
			not a one time settlement
			reluctant settlement; assimilationist settlement
			State could have reduced settlement
			State dominated by feds

			State had to swallow settlement
			State opposes tribal power
			success is fed govt living up to its agreement
			we have a long way to go
		settlement a moment in time	all in it together
			had to grab it or its gone
			settlement a moment in time, wouldn't come again
			wasn't time for swot analysis
			we were an impediment, not a roadblock
			wouldn't have got settlement without circumstances
		thought we would fuck it up	are these savages able to take the ship
			can these natives deal with settlement
			not professionals but weren't victims; we created claim
			thought we'd fuck it up
			we were young shits
	mixing culture and business a constant struggle	difficult implementing organisational change	difficult implementing values in massive corp
			had a generic mission statement; nobody paid attention to it
			mission statement didn't change for 30 years
			no easy way for organisational change
			tinkering with the mission statement was laughed at
		ethnic exhaustion	although future will be a constant struggle, I'm optimistic
			compelling but a struggle
			constant challenge
			ethnic exhaustion; hard being native
		mixing culture and business is tricky	distinguishing culture from business a funny thing
			mixing culture into business tricky
		society defining who we are instead of us	defined economically instead of sense of who we are
			need to be recognised for who we are not societies expectations of us
			whites have to validate us to be valid
	settlement created tensions and complexity	corporations can never do enough	corporate settlement created complexity
			growing recognition corporations can only do so much

			it's never enough for lots of people
			it's never enough; always want more
		tensions are always there	natural tensions arise
			tensions are human tensions
			tensions will always be there
	succeeding generations will have to figure it out	the generations are coming together	generations coming together creates something new
			next step to determine how all generations can be involved
		young people will have to make it work	didn't solve all the problems, young people will have to make it work
			hope younger generation can be proud
			succeeding generations will have to figure it out
			wanted it for successive generations
generational differences creating tensions	directors supposed to reflect collective mindset	board reflects culture	board sets direction
Rank: 3			board members hearts are with the people
Frequency: 54			boardroom is bound by their communities
Percentage: 13%			directors reflect villages and clan culture
			good mix of board members
		many leaders haven't been to village	they don't have a collective mindset
			committee structure does a lot of work, lots of deference
			leadership in it for wrong reasons
			many leaders not raised in our villages
			native corp leaders don't get that higher consciousness
			running village corp from Seattle a real rub for us
			some village board members never been to village
generational differences creating tensions	elder leaders a minority		leadership were elders
			settlement elders a minority now
			some elders stepped down for others
	generational differences creating tensions		demographic changes hugely important
			generation change creating tensions
			generational difference in worldview
			younger board members saying it's still too western
not enough turnover on board	high bar to get elected		high bar to get elected; need big political base

			really high bar if an independent
		nepotism is a problem	closely related staff cause tension between corp & shareholders
			nepotism a problem
		not enough turnover on board	need succession for those been there since inception
			need to include younger folks
			not enough turnover and change on board
			same leadership serves stability but creates too much comfort
	old guard doesn't want transparency or dialogue	no place for dialogue	15 representing 22,000; that's a small discussion
			dialogue doesn't happen; inner circle make decisions
			have to have the hard conversations
			no give and take
			no place for constructive dialogue
			there's a lot left unsaid
			we don't figure out the hardest relationships
		old guard doesn't want transparency	corp management doesn't want information out there
			don't have say in corporation, don't like it
			need for corp confidentiality hard for natives to respects
			no external transparency
			old guard feels share the bare minimum
		transparency keeps you honest	corporate law and world forcing transparency
			transparency helps dissuade fraud and keeps you honest
			transparency is about trust
	young people didn't endure racism	lost generation grew up without culture	couple generations grew up ashamed
			leadership raised in boarding schools not native values
			lost generations adopted white views to survive
			lots of intergenerational trauma; things buried deep
			most dissidents from generations without culture
			we have internalised self-hatred into group hatred
		non-natives starting to get it	non-natives starting to get it
			now more are curious rather than prejudiced
		younger generation didn't have to endure racism	cultural pride a generational thing

			didn't endure a lot of racism
			easier for young people; grown up in new era
			younger generation more well-rounded; didn't feel ashamed being native
corporation a legal fiction of tribalism	corporation a legal fiction of tribalism	corporations a legal fiction of tribalism	ANB parent of them both
Rank: 4			corps a recent phenomenon; tribes been here for hundreds of years
Frequency: 44			created entities legal fictions of tribalism
Percentage: 11%		corporations are businesses; tribes are sovereign	corps a business not a democracy
			difference between tribes & corps is our sovereignty
			elders separated business from our rights
			government to government relationship with Tlingit Haida council
			nature of corps different from tribal govt
			tribal structure a democracy; corporate structure a business
			tribe has more recognition with feds because we're sovereign
			villages not considered enough in decision making
	dividends create disparity and dissent	disbursements create disparity	concerns wealth will not be equal
			creates have and have nots
			creating upper class creates bad feelings
			disbursements create disparity & expectations
			have to work around resentment
		money sharing creates complexity	created revenue sharing between regional corps
			money sharing creates complexity & anti-American
			native corps have to show they are sharing wealth
			shared revenue goes to shareholders
		we can be our own worst enemies	accusations one of those things
			dissidents complain about dividend size
			minimise ourselves & favour non natives
			small vocal group of dissidents want to know everything
			tension with shareholders who want the bottom line
			tonnes of critics; some real challenges
			we can be our worst enemies
frustrated at how we divide ourselves		corporations owning village lands a real rub for us	corp owning village lands a real rub for us

			gave Sealaska subsurface of village corp lands
			people frustrated all our lands owned by different people
			SE selected lands around our village
			Sealaska got most of village lands
		Tribe and Sealaska divided	barriers to working together
			frustrated at how we divide ourselves
			not on the same team
			role of the tribes an issue
			Tlingit Haida parent of Sealaska
			Tlingit Haida tribes deals with social programmes
			tribe separate from Sealaska
	Tlingit Haida have ability but no recognition or capital	need to recognise role of tribes	balance loyalties as tribal member and shareholder
			directors power a sore point for clan leaders
			feds & state need to recognise role of tribes
		Tlingit-Haida have ability but no capital	Tlingit Haida have ability but no capital
			Tlingit Haida well organised now
shareholderism is different from tribalism	huge effort to engage shareholders	huge effort to engage community	huge effort to inform shareholders
Rank: 5			increasing engagement with communities
Frequency: 41			need new ways to talk to our people
Percentage: 10%			shareholders engage at annual meeting
			social media changing the way we operate
			values in action engaging shareholders
		lots of people aren't voting	had to get the people to vote
			lots not bothered with voting
			only handfuls of people come to corp meetings
		majority don't think about corporation	majority don't think about corp; life goes on
			only think about tribe if there's a problem
	rooted in place and clan	blinded to strengths of tribalism	blinded us to strength of tribalism
			nobody recognised our strengths
			peoples strength helps us go forward
			tribalism taken for granted

		blood and clan are still the cultural undercurrent	blood & clan still power undercurrent of our existence
			cultural undercurrent still exists
			native world view based on respect
			our culture is based on blood
		eroding blood quantum	directors have to figure out solution
			shareholder population eroding blood quantum
		tribes rooted in place and clan	all have ties to village and clan
			maybe future relationship won't be as a shareholder
			Tlingit all over world still want to come home
			tribes define own blood quantum
			you're born tribal & rooted in place
	shareholderism different from tribalism	after-born stocks about the big picture	after born decision diluted ownership but thought about big picture
			Sealaska enrolment left out after 1971's
			Sealaska provides different stock for after borns
			shares give me a voice
			was an easy vote as tribe is about children
		elder's stocks are special	directors gave elders special stock
			elders stock special
			hybrid as stock not tradable but it does get passed to descendants
		proxy vote different from tribal vote	Different from Tlingit Haida enrolment
			evolved to election by proxy voting
			proxy vote different from tribal voting method
			proxy vote totally different to our people
		shareholderism different from tribal membership	shareholder membership different from tribal membership
			share-holderism stronger than tribalism
			term tribal shareholders irritates elders
gives us a voice for communal advancement	corporations are a good tool for communal advancement	communal advancement through a corporate model	common sharing through corporate model
Rank: 6			didn't want per-capita settlement
Frequency: 38			individual versus communal advancement
Percentage: 9%		corporations are good tools for native advancement	being a minority creates value
			corporations good tools; allows dialogue with power

			Haa Aani emissary of economic devlpt & goodwill
			have resources but need capital to develop and manage them
			how do we make this corporation a vehicle for native advancement
			recognise reality of economic power
			tribes & corps have incredible tool belt
			use institution for good of the people
	Sealaska concentrates power and gives us voice	Sealaska gives us credibility and voice	allows them to hear us
			America used to corporations
			built relationships in Washington
			gives us a voice in the world
			need to make sure our people have a voice
			SE has more credibility with whites than tribe
			SE more legitimate as a corp than a tribe
			SE operates well in western structure
			use assets to be part of commercial world
			want commercial success in investment world
		Sealaska is a concentration of power	need eye on economic devt to be sovereign
			Sealaska a concentration of power
			very powerful dealing with government as a business
		Sealaska is a political structure	big issues mirror political issues within community
			boardroom pays attention to chatter
			leadership is politicised
			live in a world where politics of business all powerful
			power dynamics keep us from realising potential
			SE a political structure
			Sealaska makes govt part of its business
	Tlingit leaders have adapted	leaders adapted to the white world	Tlingit leaders in white world cos we adapted
			we know how to conduct ourselves in non-Native world
		Robert's Rules of Order a feature of Tlingit society	Roberts Rules of Order an important feature of our society
			Roberts Rules of Order- order the boardroom
			Roberts Rules of Order taught in native community

			taught Roberts Rules of Order in junior ANB
			Tlingit loved Roberts Rules of Order cos of protocol

TABLE 4 KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS NON-INDIGENOUS STAFF

Concepts	Categories	Codes	Paraphrases
the organisation is evolving	bridging two worlds	able to reconcile and balance	on balance we're ok
Rank: 1			we have a good balance
Frequency: 119			sometimes we deviate
Percentage: 27%			able to reconcile & balance
		bridging two worlds	balancing multiple bottom lines
			have to maintain two systems
			different ways of balancing
			one foot in western world, one in indigenous world
			trying to bridge that gap
			brings her culture with best education thinking
			it's a melding
		American norms bump up against culture	American norms bump up against cultural values
			some want indigenous, some want western curriculum
			tension between cultural and western approaches
			thought it was either or
			uncomfortable with surveying
	integrating culture	integrating culture	investing more with values
			integrate values into operations
			integrating culture into developments
			try to do it culturally appropriate
			pull in Hawaiian values
			embedding culture
			they're becoming more indigenous
			translated visions & goals into operational activities
		global model	global model for public-private partnerships

		global model for place-based learning
		could be indigenous model
	culture an asset	culture an asset; differentiates us
		language way to see world differently
		can make culture relevant to anything
	integrating teaching and learning	integrating working exit outcomes
		integration of how they come together
		teaching and learning together
		tend to cluster things together
	reconnecting our people with our land	connecting community with place
		connecting their learning to real things
		re-establishing connections to land
		how to use lands to further education
		have to bring people back to our lands
		how to get families to our lands
		not a lot of culture on some lands
		using land to re-engage
		same as conservation community
	deliberate focus on the five values	hope to integrate aina into strategic plan
		make decisions based on five values
		we measure those five values
		more deliberate in what we do
	non-Hawaiians engaged in culture	culture needs to be perpetuated by Hawaiians & non-Hawaiians
		how do non-Hawaiians teach culture
		non-Hawaiians engaged in land activities
		target native Hawaiians
	trying to live Hawaiian culture	try to live it
		trying to live Hawaiian culture
	some activities grounded in culture	cultural practices allowed
		activities more culturally grounded in the community
		graduate with kihei

		growing Hawaiian language
		learning songs and chants
		making sure culture is part of programming
		some clear activities grounded in culture
		starting to see protocols
		supporting cultural programmes
		these things make you an indigenous organisation
		joint responsibility
		does that make sense for Hawaii
preparing leaders to walk in both worlds	preparing next generation	preparing next generation
		don't just hoard it yourself
		how do we develop leadership
		more education, more opportunities
		that's where next level is
		where's the next one coming from
	grounded in who they are	grounded in who they are
		understand who they are
	launching leaders to other places	develop here & send to other places
		build capacity so all heads are Hawaiian
		graduate here and find their way
		how to support ali'i trusts
		launch leaders to other places
		need to be more targeted, build capacity in others
		some programmes have non-Hawaiians
	prepared to walk in both worlds	good career and understand who they are
		can't just focus on productive part
		culture has huge impact
		prepared to walk in both worlds
		everybody expects you to do well
		focused to K12
		good and industrious men & women

		kids perform well
		our mission is to prepare them
		provide opportunities for our people
		sacredness; being grounded
		sense of commonality
organisation is evolving	leading edge innovator	leading edge innovator
		looking at alternative education models
		looking for new ventures
	work with both sides	work with both sides
		does a lot with the commercial team
		want to give good group low rent
		need to be more deliberate in our process
		how do we keep cultural land special
		developments tell a story
	we've been proving it	we're trending there
		we've been proving it
		worked hard to honour indigenous ways
		worked out how we do it
		see something culturally related
		I don't see them pause
	organisation is evolving	changing how we perceive things
		changed structure to build capacity
		changing right now
		everything is about change
		in a different place now
		different twenty years from now
		org chart is a living organism
		continue to evolve as we understand better
		need to change as world changes
		org evolving; finding our own identity
		healthy thinking about what are we doing

			trying to wish problems away
it's hard to deviate	competing for dollars	competing for dollars	battle over resources
Rank: 2			competing for dollars
Frequency: 95			competition for resources
Percentage: 22%			don't have resources to deliver everywhere
			people defend their turf
			the challenge to be more efficient
			we do have turf battles
		could spend it in a generation	mortgaging their future
			could spend it in a generation
			five years of public school and that's it
			focused on financial support
			maintaining intergenerational equity
			spend 4%
			will diminish cash flow if go too far
			won't have cash flow without economic development
		expensive to run campuses	campus vs partnership model
			campuses not the most efficient way
			expensive to run campuses
it's hard to deviate	put it in a box		how to enthuse whole org
			put it in a box
			what do we see in commonality
	takes energy to make exceptions		spend organisational energy addressing struggles
			takes energy to make exceptions
			challenging managing land side
	it's hard to deviate		don't want to step out
			doing gymnastics exposes us to risk
			bureaucratic gymnastics
			it's hard to deviate
			have to get changes integrated into strategy
			become a monkey if it's too prescriptive

waiting for authority	deferring decisions problematic	deferring decisions problematic
		someone's got to set priorities
		sometimes just got to make a decision
		got to make hard decisions
	different levels of decisions	clarify who has decision making on that
		different levels of decisions
		different levels of meetings
		it's when you get to the grey areas
	executives make decisions	executive groups talk then make decisions
		executive leadership team make decisions
	waiting for authority	waiting for authority so say do this
		waiting for someone to say you're in charge of that
		who am I to say
		who makes the right decisions
		doesn't count unless it's in writing
regulatory framework a constraint	regulatory framework drives everything	can't discount influence of trust law
		doesn't cross threshold of imprudence
		don't make decisions on prudent investor standard
		group nominates; judge appoints
		have to function in western regulatory framework
		it drives everything
		it's as good as any
	state oversight a problem	regulatory anchor driven by strategy
		regulatory pressures
		state oversight a problem
		western regulatory laws
	preference policy an issue	big enabler if we didn't deal with preference issue
		preference policy a restriction
	we view land differently	why don't you cash it
		we view land differently
		policy doesn't differentiate between a tenant

		justify holding real estate
		easy to say reduce allocation
	legislative piece a constraint	legislative piece drives trustees crazy
		operating under trust law a constraint
		court master; legal requirements
		fiduciary regulations a constraint
		we have a court master to review activity
		purposely organised to be slow & methodical
hard to shake nefarious reputation	we're in a much better place	hasn't been getting worse
		we're in a much better place
		we get benefit of doubt now
	we get a lot more scrutiny	still get dinged a lot
		we get a lot more scrutiny
		easier to throw stones
		we're sensitive to it
		wrapped up in media cycles
	avoid politics like kryptonite	tried to strip away politics
		leadership focused on soft side of aloha
		live our full values then
		militancy keeps issues alive
		over democratise decisions sometimes
		avoid politics like kryptonite
	hard to shake nefarious reputation	always reminded of governance issues
		bit of a black box
		hard to shake nefarious reputation
		it's not who we are anymore
		were stand offish; not allowed on land
		we used to be the hottest thing
		weren't allowed to speak or sing language
	needed a new era and structure	needed a new era & governance structure
		abandoned having trustees all over the place

			deal with holes in your canoe first
			trustees said it was the wrong thing to do
			trustee's weren't responsible
need to be mainstream to impart change	need to be mainstream to impart change	greases through if strategically integrated	activities aligned under plans
Rank: 3			align assets with strategy
Frequency: 86			strategic plan guides activities
Percentage: 20%			can't go rogue
			got to make that case
			greases through if strategically integrated
		hired experts	hired experts to choose what works best
			hire smart people, engage them in decision making
			subject matter experts support portfolio
			experts design PD & curriculum
		clear lines of separation	clear line between strategy and operations
			decisions rest with VP's, CEO or Trustees
			CEO builds consensus
		need to be mainstream to impart change	need to be mainstream to impart change
			make western model work for us
			make public system better
			pressure system to change
			how can we influence their behaviour
			connecting with Hawaiians not in school system
			reshape understanding about Hawaiians
			what's happening with the other 105,000
		125 years; we got that	125 years of campus programmes; we got that
			have a baseline for activity
			have an amount we are comfortable with
			same sort of footprint
			cash flow crunch; don't see it as a big problem
		normal problems; tail wagging the dog	central services serves both sides
			CEO based management structure

		indicative of any education organisation
		that's the nature of organisations
		what is the right structure moving forward
		have sector leadership
		normal problems; tail wagging the dog
		trustees do strategy; CEO executes
		where do you put that
		campuses inverse pyramids
no one best way of organising	no best way of organising	won't see it structure
		think we'll have same structure in 50 years
		don't get wrapped up in structure
		no best way of organising
	good people supplant policy	good people supplant policy
		structure might look different with different leadership
		right people make things work
		need right people with right values
		it's how you operate
		see it in how we manage, not structural changes
success is defined through education outcomes	college isn't for everybody	graduating college not everybody's idea of success
		college isn't for everybody
	different definitions of success	different definitions of success
		everyone succeeding; not very western
		struggle with Hawaiian piece of measuring success
		tried a couple of things
	success defined through education outcomes	success defined through education outcomes
		I don't know what trustees measure
		trustees want key measures
		trustees look at education reach and impact
I believe in the mission	exciting job	excited by potential
		exciting job
	appreciate my own culture more	appreciate my own culture more

			became interested in own genealogy
			like a fish in water
		wonderful mission	wonderful mission
			collectiveness of things
		responsibility to genealogy	responsibility to do well
			responsibility to genealogy
		why would I go anywhere else	help them plant roots
			what does it mean to give back
			what more can one do with one's life
			why would I go anywhere else
			fortunate to have that opportunity
			responsible based on your talents
		can make an impact	capital funds + powerful mission
			can make an impact
		I believe in the mission	believe in the mission
			driven by mission
			love sense of mission
			mission to increase capability and wellbeing for Hawaiians
		attracted to the culture	attracted to cultural aspect
			come from heroic people
			culture resonates; feels comfortable
			I'm more interested in cultural things
			legacy neat
			it's so powerful
			powerful bond
			mixed aspects makes it attractive
			hierarchal; attracts certain people
trying to be more open	ask ten people; get ten different answers	get pulled all over the place	can get pulled all over the place
Rank: 4			can be schizophrenic
Frequency: 75		ask ten people, get ten different answers	ask ten people get ten different answers
Percentage: 17%			it depends on who you ask

		always a mainstream and militant perspective
		whole spectrum in the organisation
		a loud voice doesn't mean it's the right voice
		not everyone's going to be happy
	different islands; different behaviours	come from different places
		different islands, different behaviours
		go back to core values
		unify through marriage
		divisions even within beneficiary community
can't get feedback from everybody	it's not efficient but makes everyone happy	it's not efficient but makes everyone happy
		need to know what works and what doesn't
		it's an undercurrent that's always there
	can't get feedback from everyone	hard to engage 44,000 people
		can't get feedback from everybody
		overwhelmed with information not transparency
		some don't agree but at least they know
		do we engage people in everything
pressure to do more	can see all the moving parts	remote; out of sight out of mind
		Hawaii unique; see all the moving parts
	we have the resources and the responsibility	education and endowment both big
		fortunate to have resources we do
		don't have to make hard choices
		large provider
		not a situation of tight resources
		we have the resources & responsibility
	pressure to do more	see big numbers; think we can solve everything
		get looked at to do everything
		pressure to do more
		look to us to be something we're not
		more going on than people imagine
		what's our role in Hawaiian wellbeing

	don't just focus on students	2,000 staff are community members too
		don't just focus on students
	broad definition of beneficiary	majority out of state
		Hawaiian population growing rapidly
		resources not growing as fast as beneficiaries
		broader definition of beneficiary
		divergence of the ability to serve
		native Hawaiian community the beneficiary
		only need a drop of blood to be a beneficiary
		typically growing up in high risk environment
		view Hawaiian community as beneficiary
trying to be more open	getting better at transparency	getting better at transparency
		give us a good grade on transparency
		good balance with transparency
	trying to be more open	tries to make it accessible
		more openness
		try to inform people
		try to set expectations
		we don't isolate ourselves
		work hard trying to listen
		post information on the website
		better at transparency than we were
		sit down and talk; it's approachable
	yelling won't make change	yelling won't make change
		people to tell us what to do
		having you say doesn't mean having your way
	listening to communities	every opportunity to feedback
		listening to communities best we can do
		processes to get community feedback
		here's what the community is saying
	might not agree but they know	hold you accountable if we tell you everything

			might not agree but they know
			transparency from the regulatory piece
		engage community extensively	engage community extensively
			engage anyone who wants to come
			establish relationships where we operate
			huge community input into strategic plan
			chance to share thinking
			creating community; more ownership
			plugged in to both community and state
how do you do it in an indigenous way	how do you do it in an indigenous way	easier on land side	easier on the land side
Rank: 5			it's tougher on commercial side
Frequency: 51		grounding things in the culture is a challenge	challenge to ground things in culture
Percentage: 12%			challenge not to get a check list
		it's hard to define culture	not all knowledge comes from the same source
			hard to say what's cultural, what's not
			several ways to manifest culture
			world integrates many cultures; hard to define Hawaiian
			your interpretation of culture maybe different from mine
			there isn't a single western culture
		get on the train	get on the train
			don't see parameters as do my generation
		it's not a checklist	are we western with an indigenous theme
			it's not a check list
			just gets watered down
		like to see us comfortable in our own skin	basic Hawaiian requirement for graduation
			it's western but that's where they're at
			like to see us comfortable in our own skin
			new people come; organisations change
			still embracing what is means to be a Hawaiian org
		how do we balance things	how do we balance things
			how do we act seamlessly

		how do we balance things together
		how do you balance that
		how do we let land, people speak to us
		how to balance conflicting conservation views
	how do we live culture	what does it mean to be an Hawaiian organisation
		how do standards get informed by values
		how does this reflect values
		how do you do it in an indigenous way
		how do we drive understanding
		how do core values live in org
		how do we do more
		how do we live Kula Hawaii
		how to live culture
if we figure it out I'll write a book	asking where should we be going	ask trustees where should we be going
		asking where should we be going
	it's a journey	been a long journey
		we're on this journey
		part of the journey
		it's a journey more than a destination
	if we figure it out I'll write a book	don't know what that looks like
		haven't stumbled upon right answer
		I don't know if there is a there
		if we figure it out I will write a book
		not there yet
		not sure how to get there
		adds complexity; isn't always clear
		doing it step by step
		what does lived out look like
		what's an indigenous mall look like

Table 5 Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Indigenous Staff

<i>Concepts</i>	<i>Categories</i>	<i>Codes</i>	<i>Paraphrases</i>
show us tribal best practice Rank: 1 Frequency: 135 Percentage: 20%	it's foreign to them	a bit of window dressing	a bit of window dressing
			process of reconciliation
			ticking the box
		bits and pieces	lost because of the money
			still get off to a bad start
			thrown bits and pieces
			we are the barriers
		could articulate values better	could articulate them better
			don't say what values we practiced
			not articulating as well as we could
			some values easier to show
			Te Waipounamu House had visible signs
		getting Ngai Tahu worldview tricky	expectations aren't articulated well
			getting Ngai Tahu world view tricky
			should be advocating
			they're the ones to articulate concerns
		indigenous vacuum	beholden to majority rules
			couldn't count the Maori in there
			indigenous vacuum
			vacuum of non-white
		it's foreign to them	foreign to them
			it's not their worldview
			they're scared
		lost ability to be who we are	a lot less accessible
			lost ability to be who we are
			seeing travel direction important

	no different from non-indigenous	no different from non-indigenous
		tensions no different
		weren't visibly different
	values not connected to remuneration	don't incentivise
		not elevated to commercial outcomes
		values not connected to remuneration
	values used as a weapon	used as a disciplinary tool
		values used as a weapon
	values virtually invisible	disappointing we don't practice them more
		haven't had much difference over fifteen years
		not driving cultural identity enough
		values haven't drawn us together
		values influential externally
		virtually invisible
operate in a rules based world	bound up in a charitable trust	bound up in charitable trust
		charitable trust has restrictions
		required to because of charitable trust
	checks and balances	checks and balances
		constantly questioning
	convoluted decision making	decision making process convoluted
		information, discussion, decision process
		quite suffocating at times
		refining decision making
		victims of their process
	operate in a rules based world	guidelines govern process
		no avoiding regulation
		operate in a rules based world
		rigorous guidelines
		rules determine what we can do
		sense of constraints
		strange mix of laws to comply with

		who can say what
show us tribal best practice	adopted best practice	adopted Canterbury behaviours
		adopted corporate best practice
		structure purposely similar
	articulation of colonisation	articulation of colonisation
		beneficiary enforces stigma
		good Maoris
		individualised their effort
		shouldn't become colonial voice back to our own
	brought in technical tools	brought in technical tools
		done what's been asked
		used big firms
	challenged with colonisation everyday	bloody karakia
		challenged with colonisation everyday
		colonial presence a red flag
		colonisation rife
		locked up in a world of colonisation
	do it on our behalf	do it on our behalf
		doesn't have grunt to influence Holdings
		it's partly feudal
	only Western models of best practice	always need pure corporate function
		business is no excuse
		only Western models of best practice
	schooling them in cultural awareness	becoming more comfortable
		making Pakeha feel comfortable
		manaaki people
		more subtle in how we engage
		not afraid to enquire
		real sense of whanau
		schooling them in cultural awareness
	show us tribal best practice	articulate cultural capital into practice

		do they mean something day to day
		show us tribal best practice
		what that means in practice
	stuck in this framework	charter could be reconfigured
		dictated to them
		lawful authority
		people drive the institution
		structure dictated by settlement
		stuck in this framework
		tight legalistic structures
	working in a Western commercial context	controlled through formalised westernised instruments
		purely return to shareholder model
		western commercial context
		working in a Western context
they default to what they know best	don't like to give up their toys	don't like to give up their toys
		see it as a job
	Holdings default to what they know best	Holdings default to what they know best
		Holdings pretty sharp
		Holdings totally unsuited to it
		need greater accountability on commercial side
		Ngai Tahu taking leadership role in Holdings
		office has to change quickly
		treats the office like a social service
	invariably you appoint for like	invariably you appoint for like
		known for appointing heavy weights
		look for pure commercial experience
		Ngai Tahu aren't a majority on appointment committees
	modelled on local government	like local government
		local council type structure
		local govt not a good model
		modelled on local government

			quite hierarchal
		struggle with mind shift	cut our ability to celebrate who we are
			don't understand business culture
			start controlling more than the putea
			struggle with mind shift
			understanding who Ngai Tahu is
		two different value systems	accommodate the other world view
			brings a different set of values
			commercial development vs. cultural aspirations
			two different value systems
		used to operating in that mode	operated their whole lives in a model
			used to operating in that mode
		we splinter easily	times of disconnect
			we splinter easily
		work like little silos	right hand doesn't know the left hand
			think they're operating in isolation
			work like little silos
message gets watered down	governors rubber stamp	governors rubber stamp	default to executive teams
Rank: 2			disconnect with management
Frequency: 113			governor rubber stamp
Percentage: 17%			strategy normally set by governors
		management running strategy	goes through line managers
			management develop strategy
			management running strategy
			works done by staff
	message gets watered down	default to the board	constantly avoiding responsibility
			default to my board
			no legitimate authority
			subsidiaries answer to their boards
			that's a board decision
		message gets watered down	isolated from shareholders

		just gets filtered
		Letter of Expectation often become redundant
		message gets watered down
		needs to filter down
		planning processes out of kilter
		subsidiaries respond with SCI
		weakens corporate influence
	need greater governance representation	few to no Ngai Tahu executives
		goal for 50% representation
		need greater governance representation
		see Ngai Tahu leading
		skills needed not within Ngai Tahu whanui
		their way of getting involved
	need to change hearts	brings good vibes
		by stealth or by force
		need to change hearts
	not everyone buys into it	can't rationalise the value they bring
		degree of discomfort with values
		not everyone buys into it
		range of values challenging
		remain Western without EQ
	only influence by proximity	only influence by proximity
		people constraints
	people on boards doesn't change that	people on boards doesn't change that
		rely on putting people on boards
	put a Tahu in the corner	don't rely on Tahu in the corner
		put a token Tahu in there
	try to influence by letter	escalate through Letter of Expectation
		give Letter of Expectation
		Letter of Expectation articulates expectations
		quite operationalised

		try to influence by letter
		understanding what drives them
no quality control over governance	challenge to see big picture	challenge to see big picture
		confusion around individual perspective and collective voice
		don't see themselves as part of this big entity
		over workshop the individual perspective
	don't understand how to use their influence	being clear about their role
		don't understand how to make it happen
		don't understand how to use their influence
		trying to rationalise papers
	focused on political nature	focused on political nature
		never pee off your employer
		political beast keeps it all together
		political structure not best way to drive cultural outcomes
		swings in roundabouts
	good village leaders	elected by communities
		emotive community development types
		good village leaders
		governors are grass roots people
		welfare state mentality
	governance are the cultural capital	governance the cultural capital
		leadership are the cultural capital
		strong leadership critical
	have ability when galvanised	about their own self confidence
		has to change at TR
		have ability when galvanised
	huge expectations on representatives	a lot of accountability on members
		expect governance to be proactive
		huge expectation for regional reps
	lack of direct democracy	lack of direct democracy
		member takes their views to the table

		small group determine reps
	no quality control over governance	capability development needs work
		concerned by capability at table
		continuum of governance ability
		get the hell out of the way
		governance experience a challenge
		governance my main priority
		lot of reps not educated
		more emphasis on governance training
		no quality control over governance
		this generation lack drive
	should be there on merit	has the skills to lead
		it didn't work out
		should be there on merit
	Te Runanga is the be all and end all	get TR's support
		governance instructing & directing
		less fear of being the owner
		TR is the be all and end all
		TR never wrong
		two committees basically
	trying to micro manage	deep engagement on internal committee
		make sure pictures on the front page
		poking and prodding
		try to micro manage
	working the process	depends on governance champion
		trying to get champions
		working the process
Runanga's not in our life day to day	Runanga voices noisiest	people who elect them the noisiest
		Runanga voices noisiest
	Runanga's not in our life day to day	50% outside of area
		depriving majority of voice

			far broader engagement would be a success
			lose self-connectedness
			low engagement at Runanga
			not about our people as a whole
			Runanga look after community
			runanga's not in our lives every day
success is a vibrant tribe	easier to stick with quantitative outcomes	easier to stick with quantitative outcomes	easier to stick with quantitative outcomes
Rank: 3 Frequency: 91 Percentage: 14%			having Ngai Tahu socio-economic indicators
			how do you measure that
		how do we fulfil our promises	how do we fulfil our promises
			how to go about it without breaking things
			how to partner with community players
			how we achieve outcomes is the difference
		incentivise commercial outcomes	higher focus on low cost
			incentive bonuses
			incentivised for pure financial outcomes
			link it to their commercial bonuses
			values in addition
		is anyone better off	did settlement make a difference
			is anyone better off
		kawenata is the touchstone	kawenata gives me comfort
			kawenata is the covenant
			kawenata never been amended
			kawenata the touchstone
			the peoples document
		many variables on enabling outcomes	did we ignore impacts of societal change
			do we acknowledge the variables
			so many implications on enabling outcome
	find marriage with a strong centre	don't look like big brother	not look like big brother's interfering
			not the big brother
			whanau not interested in bureaucracy

		what we think are best outcomes
	find marriage with a strong centre	a third a third a third
		centre should start diminishing
		doesn't have to be driven from Christchurch
		find marriage with strong centre
		risk becomes a cycle
		role is to exercise values
	reconfigure to drive regional outcomes	18 centres of excellence
		98% outside structure
		reconfigure to drive regional outcomes
		sense of localism
		solidified regional communities
		volunteers point of view
	regional economies of scale	presence only strong in Canterbury
		regional economies of scale
	tension with whanau wealth creation	not see families creating wealth
		tension with whanau wealth creation
	tribal economy rests with our people	communities being active investors
		difference is the family context
		expect the same for small regional communities
		it's wealth creation
		tribal economy rests with our people
		whanau engagements positive
success is a vibrant tribe	cool initiatives	cool programmes
		really cool initiatives
	doing real stuff	doing real stuff
		done different things
	empowering whanau	benefitting whanau
		can't enable self-determination
		driven by families
		I like that empowering

		in the gaps stuff
		way to have choices
		whanau being empowered
		whanau led development
	enabling families	create mechanisms to enable families
		enabling aspirations
		enabling families
		enabling them from their particular world view
	generating outcomes for whanau	bringing effective outcomes
		bringing in other parts
		generate outcomes for whanau
		see a lot more reconnection
		services brings about tangible outcomes
		you want to do a good job
	hand up not a hand out	a mechanism that assists
		hand up not hand out
		have to be more proactive
		marry that up with org outcomes
		stepping outside of the structure
		this is what we expect
	hearing from service recipient	actually hearing from the service recipient
		checking we met the needs for service recipient
	I'm talking social returns	I'm talking social returns
		social aspects will rise
		social justice theory
		strategy needs to benefit the people
		supporting our most vulnerable
	providing opportunities	pick up these opportunities
		provide the right tools
		provides opportunities
	success is a vibrant tribe	do well on social indicators

			it's good for the middle class
			layers of success
			significant growth at whanau level
			success is a vibrant tribe
our grandchildren are the silent voice	new blood will take us to the next level	culturally proficient feel confined	cultural leaders might not come through formal leadership
Rank: 4			culturally proficient feel confined
Frequency: 84			doesn't have that mana
Percentage: 13%		generational shift coming through	generational shift coming through
			strong leadership coming through
		new blood confident in being Ngai Tahu	build the strength in the individual
			key staff reflecting values all the time
			new blood confident in being Ngai Tahu
		they will take us to the next level	serious investment in the young ones
			they will take us to the next level
			they're not the ones to change corporate
	on an intergenerational journey	hit the ground running	actually adding value
			anybody could have made a success out of our business
			been good caretakers
			hit the ground running
			not struggling as much as we used to
			successfully managing wealth
		intergenerational journey	a smidgen of our inter-generational journey
			driving intergenerational outcomes
		Ngai Tahu is here to stay	Ngai Tahu is here to stay
			sense of continuity
			will always need the tribe
			will endure forever
		on a massive journey	massive job ahead
			on massive journey
			was learning a lot
		really hard to hold back	it will be slow

		just wait a little bit
		really hard to hold back
	want to sprint on everything	mini steps first
		need for expediency doesn't align with bringing people along
		no short cuts
		want to sprint on everything
	we'll get there	on that learning pathway
		plenty of time to get there
		we'll get there
	wheels in motion	was a lot more engagement
		we debated ahead of settlement
		wheels are in motion
our grandchildren are the silent voice	big responsibilities, big pressure	being the voice a big responsibility
		big pressure
		big responsibilities
		geography plays an important role
		sheer weight of responsibility
		so much attention on Holdings
		was that a realistic goal
		way above their scope
	can only spend it once	can only spend it once
		can't be frivolous with it
		make sure we're not abusing tribal money
		reliant on tribal money
		shouldn't take advantage of the money
	distributions is the purpose	distributions is the purpose
		what should we spend distribution on
	don't lose the money	don't lose the money
		inherent fear of losing the putea
	grandchildren are the silent voice	always been about our grandchildren
		grandchildren the silent voice

			keep the voice of the children
			more options for younger ones
		have to be patient to fulfil the dream	have to be patient to fulfil the dream
			need to be more patient
			possible if you have patience
		magic won't happen unless we work at it	magic won't happen unless we work at it
			scope for refinement
			scope to be more unique
		need to breakdown long-term outcomes	early in the process for incorporating values
			foreseeable failures
			need to break down long-term outcomes
			not even at the rangatahi stage
			positives and negatives
		reminding us we're part of something	reminding the team
			reminds us we are a cultural institution
			they're part of something
		stealing from our grandchildren	cautious of making a mistake
			spending capital will cost future generations
			stealing from our grandchildren
		to the detriment of our economic future	doesn't take away from investment pathway
			fund social at detriment of economic future
			they've forgotten
		what's our role	are we doing the right thing
			what's our role
			what's the role of our leaders
			what's TR's role in whanau success
balancing a mixed model	balancing a mixed model	corporate mixed with NGO	corporate mixed with NGO
Rank: 5			corporate office merged with social delivery
Frequency: 81			develop a mixed model
Percentage: 12%			mixing pure corporate with social services
		cultural tensions	cultural tensions

		relatively negative response
	innovative space	build innovation hub
		I just grab things
		innovative space
		more innovative away from structure
	is no right or wrong	is no right and wrong
		it can be done
	it's complex	complex area
		complexity of social wellbeing outcomes
		DC devolution created confusion
		it's complex
		major issues
		not sure if grass roots understand
	it's unique	distinct difference smart
		haven't articulated it
		it's unique
	juggle those two things	I need to find compromise
		juggle those two things
		make sure there's a good balance
		try to balance and reconcile
	mixed messages cause tension	mixed messages cause tension
		starting with engaging
		tried other forms of communication
	remained separate	keep thing separate
		remained too separate
	want to fuse this together	should be innately us
		that's actually happening
		want to fuse this together
end up fighting each other	burn people out	burn people out
		sacking our own people a true tragedy
		set up to fail

		tall poppy syndrome
		they leave bitter
	end up fighting each other	end in a muddy mess
		end up fighting each other
		will bring agitation
	got to be resilient	enjoy uncomfortable spaces
		got to be resilient
		quite emotionally involved
		transferable CV a concern
	have to remind ourselves	forget to thank people
		forgotten the us
		have to remind ourselves
	lore when it suits us	lore vs. law
		lore when it suits us
	professional Ngai Tahu's	decent salary
		how much commitment did you show
		Ngai Tahu professionals vs professional Ngai Tahu's
		Ngai Tahu rut
		people don't understand reciprocity
		think they're in a good job for life
		we overdo it
		why do we get a privilege
	so much distrust	doesn't help moving towards outcomes
		expect a degree of transparency
		negotiators exhausted
		not an enabling environment
		personality tension
		so much distrust
getting role clarity	getting role clarity	distribution side working out its role
		fluidity of roles
		getting role clarity

			where do these sit
			who has responsibility for outcomes
	no clear strategy		defining corporate's focus
			lose focus
			no clear strategy from TR
			should know what they're going to say
			uncertainty around what we were delivering
	original structure cleaner		original structure cleaner
			there to make or distribute money
	pretty transparent internally		have robust discussions
			pretty transparent internally
			quite transparent
			transparency reliant on reps
economic power enhances rangatiratanga	economic power enhances rangatiratanga	achieved scale; attention will shift	achieved scale; attention will shift
Rank: 6 Frequency: 73 Percentage: 11%			consolidating efficiencies
			layer of maturity
		big corporate beast	big corporate beast
			big operational machinery
			good processes here
			nice broad portfolio
			understand volume and quantum
			understand why it's so big
			western organisation bureaucratic
		brand needs to keep producing money	looking for capital
			need the brand to keep producing money
			providing wealth transfer onwards
		can't have everything on day one	can't have everything on day one
			they want everything, they want it now
			upset comes from impatience
			what was the hurry
		doing it for themselves	communities can do it for themselves

		freedom to develop for themselves
		get alongside Runanga
		has to do it themselves
		no point dictating an outcome
		our role is servant leader
		trap of taking over Crown's responsibility
	economic power enhances rangatiratanga	built of economic success
		economic power enhances rangatiratanga
		had to grow to a certain size
		lift our presence
		one thing follows the other
		using political clout
	grown rangatiratanga	dislike beneficiary classification
		greater regional leadership role for Runanga
		grown rangatiratanga
		had to rebuild Runanga
	scale will drive bigger outcomes	distribution stream unthought of
		grabbed by environmental agenda
		scale will drive bigger outcomes
		use that collective voice
success is brand Ngai Tahu	can influence strategy	can influence positive outcomes
		can influence strategy
		CERA is the high water mark
		it made political and commercial sense
	desperate to convince southern economy	adopted majority culture to get trust
		Canterbury is old school
		convince southern economy
		desperate to prove trustworthy
		economy's dominated by families
		like large family business
		over influential

		getting smarter about leveraging distribution	getting smarter about leveraging distribution
			leverage distribution power
			leverage relationships to influence
		pitched as the good Maori	pitched as the good Maori
			weren't too out there
		success is brand Ngai Tahu	brand enhanced by financial
			business community brand orientated
			success is brand Ngai Tahu
			uphold the brand
		success judged by the external market	completely dominated by the market
			success judged by external market
			what the market wants is not what we aspire to
		they'll be paying us taxes	back in that dominant position
			building power
			expect to influence behaviour
			get back to that
			paying us taxes
			possibilities of what TR could grow into
		ultimately judged on bottom line	focused on commercial performance
			maximise economic output
			targeted on generating substantial bottom line
			ultimately judged on bottom-line
		we create our own wealth	we actually own this beast
			we create our own wealth
weaving cultural change	weaving cultural change	beginning of a turning point	beginning of a turning point
Rank: 7			getting to that point
Frequency: 71		building cultural confidence	building cultural base & confidence
Percentage: 11%			cultural values enable us to stand tall
			making sure they're culturally strong
		create our own mini-culture	change a culture
			corporate office trying to influence behaviour

		create space to grow commercially
		creating our own mini-culture
		developing our own organisational culture
		we create what it is to be Ngai Tahu
	designing something that actually fits	designing something that actually fits
		hey we don't do this
		more visibly indigenous after earthquake
		see commercial value in being unique
	infusing culture	imbuing a sense of cultural value
		infuse a culture of collaboration
		infuse cultural connection
	Ngai Tahu-ise the landscape	Ngai Tahu-ise the landscape
		Ngai Tahutanga not an exercise
	normalising things	normalising things
		want it normalised
	passion in your belly for Ngai Tahutanga	passion in your belly for Ngai Tahutanga
		rely on directional steer
		want our leaders to be champions
	seamlessly weaving cultural change	find a way to blend it
		fused with cultural dominance
		seamlessly weaving cultural change
		weave in a cultural way of being
	set context for new staff	don't undermine the settlement
		set context for new staff
		stories about the sacrifices
		truth in the principles
	stronger Ngai Tahu presence	strong talking about values
		stronger Ngai Tahu presence
	values roll off our tongue	values aspirational
		values base of everything we do
		values reflected in key documents

		values roll off our tongue
		values visible in office
		values were around me
you feel it in your puku	born into whanau values	born into whanau values
		challenging if don't have relationships
		cultural upbringing inherent
		informal systems rein you in
	don't pontificate cultural values	cultural values can be unspoken things
		don't pontificate
	don't want cheque book members	don't want cheque book members
		have a connection by default
		tribe isn't just whakapapa
		whakapapa doesn't mean you're connected
	giving back	choose to come back
		frustrated coming back in
		give me a sense of strength
		giving back
		giving effect to the dream
		reciprocal thing
	innate puku feeling	feel it in your puku
		innate puku feeling
	know who we are and what we want to be	I knew Ngai Tahutanga
		I want to see them
		just within some people
		know where I've come from
		know who we are and what we want to be
	missing the right way to grow people and values	don't be a bull at the gate
		don't have capacity to fulfil roles
		missing the right way to grow people and values
	whakapapa obligation	labour of love
		make people feel good

			take it into their heart
			whakapapa obligation